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The *Spirit of the Times*: Its Early History and Some of Its Contributors

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FOR approximately a generation the weekly *Spirit of the Times* (1831-1861), edited for over two thirds of its career by William Trotter Porter, functioned as the leading sporting magazine in the United States as well as the chief national outlet for humorous writers of the "Big Bear school."[1] Although edited and published in New York City, this periodical drew contributions from hundreds of amateur authors in every state and territory of the growing nation as well as from abroad.[2] Yet this important journal has remained in a sort of bibliographical twilight ever since the editor's brother-in-law, Francis Brinley, complained in 1860 that the early issues of the *Spirit* could not be found.[3] Another realm of darkness has hovered over the identity of many of the back-country correspond-

[1] This term was first used by Bernard De Voto in *SRL*, V (1929), 1067.

[2] For brief discussions of the *Spirit*, see Franklin J. Meine, ed., *Tall Tales of the Southwest 1830-1860* (New York, 1930), xxiv-xxix; *idem*, "American Folk Literature," *Amateur Book Collector*, I (1951), 3-4; Constance Rourke, *American Humor* (New York, 1931), p. 307; Bernard De Voto, *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), pp. 95-97, 174; Walter Blair, *Native American Humor* (New York, 1937), pp. 82-86, and John Rickards Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth Century America," *AQ*, V (1953), 41.

[3] Francis Brinley, *The Life of William T. Porter* (New York, 1860), p. 33.

ents who sent Porter articles on horse racing, hunting, fishing, and farming along with sketches of frontier life and manners.

Until fairly recently, confusion also existed concerning the later history of the magazine. Porter had relinquished the actual ownership of the *Spirit* in 1842 to John Richards, his printer, but the former continued as editor until 1856.[4] In that year, for reasons which have never been fully explained, Porter left the "old" *Spirit* and cofounded a new magazine, *Porter's Spirit of the Times,* with George Wilkes as his partner and business manager. However, Carvel Collins has ably discussed this breakaway of Porter and the founding by Wilkes after Porter's death in 1858 of a third paper, *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.*[5] Professor Collins does much to clear up the tangle of titles resulting from the fact that for over a year there were three "Spirits" in circulation, but he confines himself to the later history of the magazine (or magazines!) and does not attempt a discussion of the complicated mutations of its early ownership and management. I wish here to give as full an account of these as possible, despite some gaps in the available record, and to present data on a few of those choice "spirits of the times" who contributed frontier and folkloristic sketches to Porter's magazine. Most of this auctorial data is derived from Porter's unpublished letters and from the files of the magazine itself.

Brinley's original complaint is still valid; the issues of Volumes I through V of the *Spirit* (1831-1835) have vanished except for fourteen issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts; seven in the rare-book

[4] For details of the transfer of proprietorship of the *Spirit* from Porter to Richards see "Profit and Loss Account," *Spirit of the Times,* XII (April 30, 1842), 102 (hereafter designated as *ST*); "A New Volume of the Spirit," *ST,* XXIX (February 12, 1859), 1; Brinley, *op. cit.,* pp. 97, 142-143; and David Judd, ed., *The Life and Writings of Frank Forester* (New York, 1882), I, 52.

[5] Carvel Collins, "The Spirit of the Times," PAPERS, XL (1946), 164-168; "An Extra Issue of the *Spirit of the Times,*" XLVIII (1954), 198. The only known complete file of *Porter's Spirit of the Times* is owned by Mr. Lindley Eberstadt, according to Robert W. Henderson, *Early American Sport, A check-list* . . . , Second Edition, rev. and enl. (New York, 1953), p. 145.

room of the New York Public Library; six issues recently acquired by the Yale University Library as part of the David Wagstaff collection of sporting literature; and a single issue in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. There may of course be other issues elsewhere which have eluded my inquiry.

The *Spirit of the Times* was founded by two young printers, William Trotter Porter and James Howe. The first issue of the little four-page sheet went to press on December 10, 1831, in a chill, dreary attic room at 53 Fulton Street, with a brash young journeyman named Horace Greeley as the chief (and perhaps only) compositor. Greeley later claimed that he had helped put out the first number on December 31 at 64 Fulton Street, but the New York *Constellation*, a comic weekly edited at that time by Porter's friend Asa Greene, refers to the second issue of the *Spirit* as being published at 53 Fulton Street.[6] Frank Luther Mott follows Brinley in discounting Greeley's statement.[7] The publishers seem shortly to have moved to Mott Street on the corner of Chatham Square. Volume I, Number 20, of the *Spirit* contains a notice of removal from that address to 35 Wall Street (not 45 Wall Street as Greeley later recalled).[8] This issue and the next four numbers which survive bear on the masthead: "By William T. Porter and Co." Thus James Howe seems to have dropped out of the firm or into a relatively minor rôle at an early date.

Dr. Mott is surely in error when he states in his *A History of*

[6] See Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1873), pp. 87-88; James Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (Boston, 1872), p. 100; Brinley, pp. 32-33, and the *Constellation*, III (December 31, 1831), 53. I am much indebted to Mr. Franklin J. Meine of Chicago for permission to examine his partial file of the *Constellation* as well as for his wise counsel in the preparation of part of this paper. Any errors in this study are, of course, my own.

[7] *A History of American Magazines* (New York, 1930), p. 480.

[8] *Spirit of the Times and Life in New York*, I (April 28, 1832). Located in the library of the American Antiquarian Society (hereafter referred to as AAS), as are the other four issues mentioned subsequently in the above paragraph. The thorough and lucid summary in typescript by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the editorial data contained in all issues of the *Traveller* and *Spirit* in the AAS has considerably expedited the preparation of this study.

American Magazines (p. 480) that, "A few months after he [Porter] began the *Spirit of the Times*, he had to dispose of it to C. J. B. Fisher, who merged it with the *Traveller* . . ." Robert W. Henderson in his indispensable bibliography of American sporting books neither corrects nor verifies this statement.[9] As far as I know, only four issues of the *New York Traveller* are available for study, and the earliest of these, Volume I, Number 5 (March 29, 1832) bears under the title: "Published Every Thursday Morning at 151 Broadway by Freeman Hunt." If the paper was issued regularly once a week, the first issue of the *New York Traveller* must have appeared on March 1, 1832. Freeman Hunt, then, and not Fisher was publishing the *New York Traveller* in the fifth week of its existence (this is the same Freeman Hunt who later founded *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*). The next week's number is among those preserved, and Freeman Hunt is likewise given as the publisher.[10] But the third of these four issues, Number 21 (July 19, 1832) indicates that the paper is now "Published Every Thursday Morning at 21 Nassau Street, Law Buildings, By Hunt and Adams." At the time of the last extant issue (September 6, 1832) Hunt and Adams were still the publishers. This Adams is undoubtedly John Jay Adams, who is listed in *Longworth's American Almanac* as "Adams, John J. pub. N.Y. traveller [*sic*]."[11]

We do not know whether Fisher had a silent interest in the *New York Traveller* at this time, but his name is not found in any of the copies preserved.

One of the surviving numbers of the *Spirit of the Times* proper in the Yale University Library is that of October 20, 1832. "William T. Porter and Co." are still named as the publishers.

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.

[10] *New York Traveller*, I, No. 6 (April 5, 1832), located in the AAS.

[11] *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory for the Fifty-Seventh Year of American Independence* ... (New York, 1832), p. 106. The same volume lists: "Hunt Freeman, pub. N.Y. Traveller, 20 Nassau" (p. 378) and "Hunt & Adams, publishers N.Y. Traveller, 20 Nassau" (p. 379).

Two weeks elapse between that and the next known issue, which is dated November 3, 1832. In this latter number the publisher is given as "James D. Armstrong, 35 Wall-St., Adjoining the Merchants' Exchange." The address of the paper remains 21 Nassau Street.[12]

This issue also includes a notice of sale of the paper to Armstrong underwritten: "William T. Porter, | Thomas Renne, | former proprietors of the Spirit of the Times and Life in New York." Apparently Renne had been the "Co." mentioned in earlier issues, or a major part of it. We do not know when he entered the "firm" but perhaps he had purchased Howe's interest in the struggling new journal.[13] In any case Armstrong, the new proprietor, proclaimed his determination, as Porter had done, to abjure politics, "the railing spirit of party," and the "almost ferocious wrath" which he finds in other papers. No doubt the emergence of this number on the day before the bitterly contested presidential election of 1832 had something to do with this renunciation.[14]

The tenure of James D. Armstrong as publisher of the *Spirit* was a short one; the merger of the *New York Traveller* with the *Spirit of the Times* took place on or about December 15, 1832, when Hunt and Adams of the *New York Traveller* purchased the *Spirit* from him and rehired Porter as head of the sporting department. Thus instead of Fisher's buying the *Spirit* from Porter and merging the two papers, Hunt and Adams effected the merger after buying the *Spirit* from Armstrong. Notice of the sale and merger is given in what must have been the first or

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 117: "Armstrong James D. printer 205 Division."

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 561: "Renne Thomas W editor 291 Division." *Longworth's ... Fifty-Sixth Year ...* (New York, 1831) lists: "Armstrong James D. printer 258 Delancey" (p. 102) and "Renne Thomas W 291 Division" (p. 537). The same almanac for next year, ... *Fifty-Eighth Year ...* (New York, 1833) lists Renne as a printer at the same address but does not mention Armstrong.

[14] *Spirit of the Times and Life in New York*, I, No. 47 (November 3, 1832). Another issue at Yale reveals that the printer of the *Spirit* at this time was John Douglas. See *Spirit of the Times and Life in New York*, I, No. 50 (November 24, 1832).

one of the first numbers of the new paper, which now bears the lengthy title of *The Traveller, Spirit of the Times, and Life in New York.*[15] Several comments on the merger are quoted from other papers. From one of these quotations we learn that "Mr. Porter will continue to carry the Sporting Department. One of the proprietors of the Traveller will *Hunt* up the literary and news department, the other in a printer's capacity will *Add ms* to the mechanical execution." From these outrageous puns one gathers that Porter was now just a hired hand on the paper he had once edited.

Within two months, however, a third paper had been absorbed into the publication owned by Hunt and Adams. Dr. T. Olcott Porter, the oldest brother of William T. Porter, had been publishing an organ entitled *Porter's Family Journal.* Dr. Porter was always more interested in journalism than in medicine, but this periodical did not last, and was acquired by the publishers of the *Spirit* shortly after January 26, 1833. The *Spirit* for that date includes an item headed "Porter's Family Journal" and reading in part: "We have arranged with Dr. Porter, the conductor of this print, and shall next week embody it with the Traveller & Times."[16] In 1839 the doctor, still undiscouraged, helped Nathaniel Parker Willis found the short-lived *Corsair,* a literary magazine.[17]

The subject of our study now bore the breath-taking title of *The Traveller, Family Journal, Spirit of the Times and Life in New York.* As such it was purchased by Charles J. B. Fisher, brother of the actress Clara Fisher. Fisher thus bought the paper from Hunt and Adams rather than from Porter. The issue of March 16, 1833, gives the notice of sale; the next week's issue informs

[15] After the running title appears this information: "December 15, 1832, Trav. I, 42, Times, n.s., 2, 53." (AAS.)

[16] *The Traveller, Spirit of the Times and Life in New York,* Trav. I, 48; Times, n.s., II, 59 (AAS).

[17] Henry Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), pp. 240-242; Brinley, pp. 73, 75-78; and Mott, pp. 356-358, 804.

us that Fisher's address as publisher is 20 Nassau Street.[18] With this number the title is changed to *New-York Traveller, Spirit of the Times & Family Journal.* Four issues under this title are known, the last one being that of May 11, 1833. After that date the next surviving number bears the rearranged heading of *The Traveller, Family Journal, Spirit of the Times. Life in New York,*[19] and in place of the name of Charles J. B. Fisher we see "By Fisher and Inman." The address is still 20 Nassau Street. On page four the masthead gives notice that the paper is "Published every Saturday evening at No. 1 Law Building, near Wall Street by Fisher and Inman." The printers are Burnet and Smith, 17 Ann Street. Inman may well be John Inman, a lawyer, journalist, and author who occasionally contributed to the *Spirit.*[20] John Inman was a brother of Henry Inman the painter, whom Porter knew well and thoroughly admired.[21]

Meanwhile Porter may have left the *Spirit*—or rather the *"Traveller-Spirit."* At any rate, there is no mention of him in the surviving issues of 1832 and 1833 after the number of December 15, 1832, in which his connection as sporting editor was announced. Moreover, in the early part of April, 1833, he became the first editor of *The New-Yorker,* a literary, sporting, and comic journal (not to be confused with Greeley's *New-Yorker,* founded in 1834). Brinley mentions that Porter was connected with *The New-Yorker* and the *Constellation,* but he fails to supply the

[18] *The Traveller, Family Journal, Spirit of the Times and Life in New York* ... Whole No. 120 of "The Traveller" & "Spirit of the Times" (March 16, 1833). Five issues under this title are in the AAS. The last is the number cited here.

[19] Vol. II, Whole No. 142 (August 10, 1833). Located in the New York Public Library.

[20] Evert A. Duyckinck and George Duyckinck, eds., *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* rev. ed. (New York, 1866), II, 416-417, and Nelson F. Adkins, "John Inman," *DAB,* IX (1932), 483-484.

[21] "Death of Henry Inman," obituary notice, *ST,* XV (January 24, 1846), 561, and Brinley, p. 44. Porter once wrote to Carey and Hart, publishers, that T. B. Thorpe "is as nervous as our friend Henry Inman." This manuscript letter dated New York, March 3, 1845, is in the library of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

dates of these affiliations.[22] Files of *The New-Yorker* are difficult to come by, but the *Constellation* for April 20, 1833, contains the following notice:

> *The New-Yorker.*—This journal, edited by Mr. W. T. Porter, the original proprietor of the "Spirit of the Times," made its appearance on Saturday last. It is handsomely printed in quarto, at $3 per annum, and devoted to the "Flash, Fun, and Frolic" of New York and the neighboring cities. Its character is very similar to the Editor's former publication, and will no doubt be acceptable to the sporting world. We wish it literary success.[23]

The *Constellation* was itself published on Saturday morning, therefore the date at which *The New-Yorker* was born with Porter as editorial midwife must have been April 13, 1833.

But Porter was certainly a "roving editor." The early part of September found him stepping into the editorial chair of the *Constellation* itself, in which this statement appeared on August 31, 1833:

> The publishers respectfully announce to the public that, having secured the editorial services of Mr. William T. Porter, the proprietor and Editor of the "Spirit of the Times," and more recently Editor of "The New-Yorker," they will issue, on the 14th of September next, the first number of the Fifth Volume of the *Constellation,* on an inlarged sheet, and in a new and more beautiful dress.[24]

A detailed "Programme" for the paper follows in which literary, sporting, fashion, and "miscellaneous" departments are promised.

I have not been able to find any issues of the *Spirit* between those of December 28, 1833, and January 3, 1835. Consequently I do not know whether Porter had any connection with the magazine between those dates. Evidence is also lacking as to

[22] Brinley, p. 33. See also "William T. Porter," obituary, *Porter's Spirit of the Times,* IV (July 24, 1858), 328.

[23] *Constellation,* IV (April 20, 1833), 252.

[24] *Ibid.,* IV (August 31, 1833), 401.

when he left the *Constellation* and as to what other periodicals he may have been associated with in this period. He probably worked briefly on the *New York Atlas Magazine* at some time during the early part of his career,[25] perhaps during this "blank year," 1834. In any case, the issue of the *Spirit* for January 3, 1835, was "Edited by William T. Porter," and the title now is merely *The New York Spirit of the Times*.[26] Porter may or may not have had silent partners in his new and successful attempt to publish this journal. An unidentified source states that Fisher founded the *Spirit of the Times* and that the *Spirit*, "after being combined with a small sheet entitled 'The Traveller,' was made over to Colonel William T. Porter and George Porter, for many subsequent years identified with that well-known and popular journal."[27] The inaccuracy of most of this statement throws doubt upon the entire passage, but other sources indicate that William's younger brother George did share in the proprietorship and management of the paper; in fact he filled the editorial chair alone while William was making a tour of the South in 1838.[28] For that matter two more of William's brothers, the literary-minded Dr. T. Olcott Porter and the youngest brother, Frank Porter, also assisted William from time to time in his editorial duties. Both George and Frank later worked on the New Orleans *Picayune* under another of William's many friends, George Wilkins Kendall.[29]

Thus Freeman Hunt bought the *New York Traveller* from Fisher and then went into partnership with John Jay Adams;

[25] Nelson F. Adkins, "William Trotter Porter," *DAB*, XV (1935), 107-108.

[26] V, No. 1 (AAS).

[27] Douglas Taylor, ed., *Autobiography of Clara Fisher Maeder* (New York, 1897), xiii.

[28] "The Late George Porter, Esq.," obituary, *ST*, XIX (June 9, 1849), 186, and Brinley, p. 46.

[29] "Death of Frank Porter," *ST*, XXV (March 10, 1855), 37, and "The Late Frank Porter," *ST*, XXV (March 17, 1855), 55, obituary tributes; see also Brinley, pp. 79, 180-183, 259, and Fayette Copeland, *Kendall of the Picayune* (Norman, Okla., 1943), pp. 142-143.

meanwhile Thomas Renne probably replaced James Howe as William T. Porter's partner on the *Spirit*. James D. Armstrong bought the *Spirit* from Porter and Renne and sold it to Hunt and Adams, who merged it with the *Traveller* and brought Porter in as sporting editor. Shortly thereafter Hunt and Adams merged *Porter's Family Journal* with the combined *"Traveller-Spirit,"* and later sold the journal with the three-decker title to Charles J. B. Fisher, who soon went into partnership with John Inman. Porter became editor of *The New-Yorker* in April, 1833, and of the *Constellation* early in September of the same year. Eventually he repurchased the *Spirit*, possibly with partners, and by January 3, 1835, he was editor-in-chief, a post which he held uninterruptedly until 1856 although he lost the proprietorship in 1842.

One should note that all the early numbers of the *New York Traveller* and the *Spirit* through January 3, 1835, mentioned above, preserve a certain consistency of format despite changes in ownership and management. Whatever the running title, each issue consisted of four unnumbered pages about 28″ x 16″ in size and of rough white paper. *The Spirit of the Times and Life in New York* for April 28, 1832, is the only extant number of any of these periodicals in which the pages are divided into six columns instead of seven. The subscription price seems to have remained fixed at three dollars per year, and the proportion of space occupied by advertising remains roughly constant, amounting to one and one-fourth to one and one-half pages of each four-page issue.

The issue of August 8, 1835, preserved in the Theatre Collection of the Houghton Library at Harvard, has eight pages. Eight is likewise the number of pages of the magazine beginning with New Series, VI (February 20, 1836). The price is also raised from three to five dollars per annum. Subsequently the size was increased to twelve pages and the price, briefly, to ten dollars, then dropped back to five.

Basic bibliographical data on the *Spirit* from 1836 to 1861

may be obtained, however, from the summaries of Mott and Henderson and from Professor Collins's article. The second large body of incomplete data concerning this journal has to do with its backwoods contributors. Some are well known; these include Thomas Bangs Thorpe, George Washington Harris, Johnson Jones Hooper, William Tappan Thompson, John S. Robb ("Solitaire"), Joseph M. Field ("Everpoint"), Henry Clay Lewis ("Madison Tensas"), Albert Pike, and Charles F. M. Noland.[30] In fact the list of writers who were helped to fame by the genial "Tall Son of York," as the six-foot, four-inch Porter was called, includes nearly all of the writers of Southwestern frontier humor who have a place in literary histories. A. B. Longstreet and Joseph G. Baldwin are the only ones who owed little of their contemporary reputation to Porter's efforts. But the greater number of Porter's contributors refused to allow their names to be made public. Not only did many of these backwoods planters, lawyers, doctors, journalists, army officers, and politicians show an Elizabethan reluctance to publish works under their own names, but some of them would not even trust the convivial editor with the secret of their identity. Porter generally respected the wishes of these "gentlemen of refinement, standing, and intelligence"; luckily for us he made his publishing house a confidant when he began to collect a group of pieces from the *Spirit* for republication in book form. This publishing firm was Carey and Hart of Philadelphia, who began the series termed "Library of Humorous American Works" afterwards continued by T. B. Peterson and Brothers.[31] The collaboration of Porter with Carey and Hart resulted in the publication of the two earliest and best anthologies of frontier humor, *The Big Bear of Arkansas* (1845) and *A Quarter Race in Kentucky* (1846). In a

[30] Noland, the least-known but not the least proficient of these writers, is discussed by James Raymond Masterson in *Tall Tales of Arkansaw* (Boston, 1942), pp. 29-54.

[31] Nelle Smither, "Library of Humorous American Works," unpublished Master's thesis (Columbia, 1936), unravels much of the tangled history of this series.

letter to Carey and Hart discussing the projected first volume Porter says:

"Jones's Fight," although a capital thing, is not comparable with another story, earlier given in the "Spirit" by the same writer, who is none other than Thomas Kirkman, Esq of Alabama, the owner of the famous Peytona and a gentleman of immense fortune. He would not have his name divulged, however, for any amount, and I mention it to you confidentially. Gov. McNutt of Mississippi, and Gov. Butler of S. Carolina have written some of the most side splitting stories ever published in this country. This *entre nous*.[32]

Alexander Gallatin McNutt, onetime governor of Mississippi, was the author of at least nine sketches in the *Spirit*, of which three were republished by Porter in book form. In the case of McNutt, Porter seems to have fudged on his rule of respecting an author's desire for anonymity. It looks very much as though he has dropped certain hints in order to let the ex-governor's readers know to whom they were indebted. Over the reprinted story "A Swim for a Deer," subtitled "A Mississippi Story—by the Turkey Runner," Porter made these comments:

Like "N. of Arkansas," Thorpe, Noland, Winslow, McClure, Ainsworth, and others, the writer of the following sketch made his debut before the world of letters in the New-York "Spirit of the Times." He is nearly connected with a late governor of one of the principal cotton-growing states; and under the signature of "The Turkey Runner," his original sketches of life and manners in the south-west have made him a formidable rival of "Tom Owen the Bee Hunter."[33] His two favourite characters, who figure in almost all his hunting stories, are "Jim" and "Chunkey." The latter, poor fellow, is now no more, having died very suddenly, recently, in his thirty-fifth year, at the plantation of ex-gover-

[32] Letter of William T. Porter to Carey and Hart dated New York, January 18, 1845. In the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. Miss Smither transcribes the letter accurately and in full (pp. 7-8), but offers no comment on the authors mentioned.

[33] Thomas Bangs Thorpe, author of the tale of that name and of the title story in William T. Porter, ed., *The Big Bear of Arkansas, and Other Sketches, Illustrative of Characters and Incidents in the South and Southwest* (Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 13-31.

nor McNutt, in Mississippi. His name was James W. Wofford. . . . In the following story Jim recounts to the writer a hunting incident, in which Chunkey and himself took part. They were both employed by Governor McNutt on a remote plantation of his on the Sunflower river, in a perfect wilderness. Here the events related below occurred.[34]

This passage, coupled with the confidential naming of McNutt in Porter's letter, surely establishes McNutt as the author of the tale in question and consequently of the eight other tales and sketches which appeared under the pseudonym of "The Turkey Runner" (turkey hunter). This conclusion is reinforced when we find that McNutt originally migrated to Mississippi from Virginia and that one of the stories by "The Turkey Runner" is reprinted in *A Quarter Race in Kentucky* with the subtitle "By a Virginian in Mississippi."[35]

Alexander Gallatin McNutt was surely one of the most enigmatical figures in Southern politics. Halfway opinions on this man are not common among his contemporaries and later commentators. An acquaintance said flatly, "In some respects he was one of the most remarkable men I ever knew."[36] This estimate is supported by a historian who declares of himself, "This writer regards Governor McNutt as one of the ablest men intellectually that the State has ever known."[37] An anonymous Whig propagandist of the time, however, violently attacks McNutt's actions and policies as governor of Mississippi,[38] and another historian

[34] *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 118. The story first appeared in the *ST*, XIV (February 27, 1844), 15. "Chunkey's Fight With the Panthers," a sequel, appeared in the *ST*, XIV (May 18, 1844), 137, and *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, pp. 128-139.

[35] William T. Porter, ed., *A Quarter Race in Kentucky, and Other Sketches, Illustrative of Scenes, Characters, and Incidents Throughout "The Universal Yankee Nation"* (Philadelphia, 1846), pp. 91-95. This story, " 'Falling Off a Log' in a Game of 'Seven-Up,' " first appeared in the *ST*, XIV (September 7, 1844), 343.

[36] Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1891), p. 83.

[37] Robert Lowry and William H. McCardle, *A History of Mississippi . . . to the Death of Jefferson Davis* (Jackson, 1891), p. 298. Which of these two writers wrote the statement is not indicated.

[38] *Nine Years of Democratic Rule in Mississippi* (Jackson, 1847), pp. 64-233. Partisan politics may have sharpened the writer's asperity.

accuses McNutt of exhibiting "a certain swagger and bluster and insincerity of purpose."[39] Attempts to form a full and valid picture of the man are not helped by the fact that most of his personal papers were destroyed by fire in 1889[40] and that no systematic biographical studies of the man have ever appeared. He does not even rate space in the Olympian *Dictionary of American Biography*. His sly but effective attempts to write backwoods humor have hitherto been wholly unsuspected.

We do know that McNutt was born in Virginia in 1802 and migrated to Mississippi in 1823. As a lawyer he was proficient enough to amass a large fortune in the rough-and-ready law courts of that frontier territory.[41] His residence seems to have been Vicksburg, from which "The Turkey Runner" sent his tales. In 1834 he married a wealthy widow who is "said to have been one of the most beautiful women in the South."[42] A bitter political enemy, Henry S. Foote, accused McNutt of complicity in the murder of his own partner in a cotton plantation—one of the many violent charges to be hurled against him during his political life.[43] It should be noted that most of Foote's opinions on any subject were violent ones; anyhow McNutt apparently lived down the charge well enough to be elected to the Mississippi state senate in 1835 and in 1837 and to be chosen speaker of that body in the latter year. He was elected governor of the state on the Democratic ticket in 1838 and again in 1840 (a Mississippi governor was chosen for only two years at a time). As chief executive McNutt was active in the founding of the Uni-

[39] Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South* (Chicago-Jackson, 1925), I, 595.

[40] "An Account of Manuscripts, Papers, and Documents in Private Hands," *Publ. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, V (1902), 251.

[41] For most of the basic facts about McNutt's life see *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV (New York, 1888), 155; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XIII (New York, 1906), 487-488; and *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1891), I, 1236.

[42] *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, loc. cit.*

[43] Henry S. Foote, *A Casket of Reminiscences* (Washington, 1874), pp. 198-215.

versity of Mississippi, but the great controversial action of his administration was the repudiation of the state's indebtedness to "wildcat" banks. The present writer will avoid discussion of the money policy of the self-styled "Great Repudiator";[44] he is more interested in such aspects of McNutt's life and character as may bear on his writing about those two hard-drinking, hard-fighting, fun-loving frontiersmen Jim (sometimes Jem) and Chunkey. McNutt himself is alleged to have been a hard drinker but to have abstained from around 1843, five years before his death.[45] As governor he sponsored a law that liquor could not be sold in less quantity than one gallon at a time. Presumably this law was aimed at cutting consumption through the elimination of over-the-counter sales by the glass, but the *Natchez Weekly* made this acidulous comment regarding "McNutt's Gallon Law": "Whether the law acquired its cognomen from a fact which we do not allege, that Gov. McNutt, who was at the time governor of the State, and the only man in the State who could drink a gallon of liquor at a time, or not, we are incapable of saying."[46] Another newspaper to make capital of McNutt's supposed tippling was the *Woodville Republican*, which had this to say of one of his inaugural messages: "It is about such a production as might be supposed to eminate [*sic*] from a brain, composed of whiskey, Irish potatoes and Bonnyclabber, put into a green gourd, stirred up, and fastened to the decapitated neck of an Automaton Chess-Player."[47]

[44] Dunbar Rowland, *Biographical Guide to the Mississippi Hall of Fame* ([Jackson,] 1935), p. 31. For a thorough and dispassionate survey of McNutt's banking policy see Charles Hillman Brough, "The History of Banking in Mississippi," *Publ. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, III (1900), 317-340. Other discussions may be found in J. A. P. Campbell, "Planters' Bank and Union Bank Bonds," *Publ. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, IV (1901), 493-497; James D. Lynch, *The Bench and Bar of Mississippi* (New York, 1881), pp. 133-135, and *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), II, 388-389.

[45] Lowry and McCardle, p. 298.

[46] "Thomas Yes—Time Is Money," *ST*, XVI (May 23, 1846), 153.

[47] I am indebted to Mahala Saville, Reference Librarian of the University of Mississippi, for transcription of this item in a letter to me, May 14, 1953.

Even more relevant than these darts from his political foes is the statement of a late contemporary that McNutt was addicted to wit and coarse humor in his political speeches. This contemporary, the historian J. F. H. Claiborne, refers to "the incisive and vulgar weapons of McNutt."[48] And McNutt needed all his wit and humor. Concerning physical encounters with opponents he was a very cautious man. While running for United States Senator in 1847 against Generals Foote and Quitman, McNutt reportedly said:

> Fellow-citizens, I understand that General Quitman is now in the eastern counties reviewing his militia, and that he says when he meets me he intends to whip me. Now, I tell him, at this far-off distance, if he whips me it will be because he can outrun me, for I have a great horror of the barbarous practice of personal violence.[49]

The statement of the man who recorded McNutt's quip is highly pertinent:

> At that time, in the South, personal courage was almost the most popular quality a man could possess, and the bare suspicion of a lack of it exposed him to universal scorn and reprobation. Such a speech would have disgraced any other man in Mississippi, but it was McNutt, and people laughed and applauded, and liked him the better for having the courage to boast of his well-known cowardice.[50]

During the same campaign, which was won by Foote, this willingness to avoid physical combat was naturally brought up by his enemies. McNutt supposedly replied by offering his Durham bull as a candidate, since this bull "would fight the d---l!"[51]

In addition to his skill at turning a derogatory shaft "McNutt was a master of broad humor and smutty anecdote, which

[48] *Mississippi As a Province, Territory, and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, 1880), I, 439.

[49] Davis, pp. 83-84.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

[51] "A Durham Bull's Qualification for U. S. Senator," *ST*, XVIII (April 8, 1848), 73.

he freely retailed."[52] In short, he was just the sort of man who might be expected to write for the *Spirit*.

McNutt's series of nine tales is noteworthy for the consistent development of his two main characters, who, unlike their creator, exhibit a world of pugnacity. Chunkey is a real ringtailed roarer of the Davy Crockett variety. After a hand-to-hand fight with a panther Chunkey shouts: "I kills bar, whips panters in a fair fight; I walks the water, I out-bellers the thunder, and when I gets hot the Mississippi hides itself! I—I—Oh, you thought you had me, did you?—dam you! But you are a gone sucker now, I'll have your melt if I never gits home, so—."[53] Likewise had Crockett bragged: "I'm shaggy as a bear, wolfish about the head, active as a cougar, and can grin like a hyena, until the bark will curl off a gum log. . . . I promise to swallow Santa Anna whole, if you will only skewer back his ears and grease his head a little."[54]

Jim, though hardy enough in his own right, is usually a foil for Chunkey and often functions as narrator. In another story Jim and Chunkey sit down to a card game in the woods with a log for a table. Each player tries to cheat and closely watches the other. When the game goes against Chunkey he yells "snake!" and rolls off the log. Jim does likewise and lies for awhile stiff with fear. Suddenly his suspicions are aroused and he peeks over the log at Chunkey, "And thar he lay, jist curled up like a coon in the sunshine, and the bottle jist glued to his lips. . . ." Jim pitches into him but Chunkey throws dirt in his eyes and lets him pummel away—at a knot of gum wood. By the time Jim finds out that he has been duped he is too exhausted to take his re-

[52] J. F. H. Claiborne, *The Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman* . . . (New York, 1860), I, 219.

[53] "Chunkey's Fight with the Panthers," *ST*, XIV (May 18, 1844), 137, and *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 139.

[54] [Richard Penn Smith,] *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* . . . *Written by Himself* (Philadelphia, 1836), p. 186. Reprinted in the *ST*, VI (October 1, 1836), 259, as "A Texan Brag Reported."

venge, and Chunkey goes off singing with cocky insolence:

> "Oh, the waggon-er was a mighty man, a mighty man was he;
> He'd pop his whip, and stretch his chains, and holler, "wo, gee"![55]

This use of a bit of folk song to enhance the atmosphere is as typical of McNutt's style as is his bold, vivid drawing of backwoods character. He can also reproduce the rough gaiety and color of a wedding "frolic" and make effective use of digressive dialogue, a favorite technique of backwoods taletellers. For example, in talking about a certain old he-bear Jim says, "If a stranger fools with him he'll get sarved like that white gal what come into my settlement."[56] The subject of the girl is never resumed but the interruption has heightened the suspense in the main narrative and supplied a few more details for verisimilitude. One feels that the main characters are living in a real community and not in a vacuum. Even so does a questioner interrupt the narrator in Thomas Bangs Thorpe's tale "The Big Bear of Arkansas," and the interruption elicits a remarkably "tall" account of Arkansas "sile" and mosquitoes which adds richness to the story and prepares readers and hearers for the climactic episode of the "unhuntable bar" who "died when his time come."[57]

McNutt at his best thus compares favorably with such better-known backwoods yarn-spinners as Thorpe, George Washington Harris, and Johnson J. Hooper, although he is not known to have done any humorous writing outside his few sketches for Porter.[58] The same is true of the other ex-governor mentioned

[55] " 'Falling Off a Log' in a Game of 'Seven-Up,' " *ST*, XIV (September 7, 1844), 343, and *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, p. 95.

[56] "Scenes on Deer Creek and the Sunflower," *ST*, XIV (April 20, 1844), 91.

[57] *ST*, XI (March 27, 1841), 54-55, and *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 31.

[58] The Sketches by "The Turkey Runner" which have not already been cited include: "Hunting in the Swamps and Bayous of Mississippi and Louisiana," *ST*, XIV (June 1, 1844), 163; "Catching Buffalo with a Gig, | With a Wedding Night Scene in the Backwoods of Mississippi," *ST*, XIV (September 21, 1844), 349; "The Chase in the South West," *ST*, XV (July 12, 1845), 225-226; "Another Story of Jem and Chunkey," *ST*, XV (October 18, 1845), 399, and "A Frightful Adventure on the Mississippi," *ST*, XVII (April 3, 1847), 67. McNutt also contributed some

in Porter's letter, Pierce Mason Butler of South Carolina. As far as I can ascertain, Butler was the probable author of at least two sketches in the *Spirit*, both reprinted later in book form. He should not, by the way, be confused with the Pierce Mason Butler who led such an unhappy married life with the actress Fanny Kemble—the two families of Butlers were not even related.[59] "Our" Pierce Mason Butler (1798-1847) certainly had plenty of frontier experience to qualify him as a writer of backwoods humor. During most of his young manhood he served as an army officer, in which capacity he spent some time at the Western frontier post of Fort Gibson.[60] He resigned from the army after he had reached the rank of captain but subsequently served in the Seminole War in Florida, presumably as a militia officer. He took part in the Nullification movement and was elected governor of South Carolina in 1836. The outstanding feature of his term, however, was his energetic campaign for a state public-school system. Thus he showed an interest in education which was rare for a Southern politician of that time. In 1838 he resigned and some time thereafter was appointed Federal Indian Agent to the Cherokees. The Cherokee Agency was at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, near the present town of Fort Smith, Arkansas, which is on the Arkansas-Oklahoma boundary. Butler was stationed at Fort Gibson as agent from November 30, 1841, to October 21, 1844, after which he remained in the vicinity as a special commissioner until late in 1845.[61] Both the sketches

epistles on turf matters, for example "New Jockey Club at Vicksburg," *ST*, XIV (January 10, 1845), which is mainly a newsletter but includes an anecdote about Chunkey. I do not pretend to have isolated a complete bibliography of McNutt's writings in the *Spirit*. However, he died in 1848 and was campaigning in 1847; consequently it is not likely that he contributed regularly for long after the main cluster of "Turkey Runner" stories.

[59] Theodore H. Jervey, "The Butlers of South Carolina," *The South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, IV (October, 1903), 296.

[60] Most of the facts in this paragraph are taken from Francis Pendleton Gaines, "Pierce Mason Butler," *DAB*, III (1929), 365-366.

[61] "Reference Service Report" to the present writer by Royal V. Hart of the Interior Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C., January 2, 1953.

which I attribute to him were submitted during Butler's stay in this area and the locale of both is western Arkansas near Fort Gibson.

In the preface to *The Big Bear of Arkansas* Porter says that two of his authors are "ex.-Gov. Butler and Mr. Sibley, the Indian agents."[62] One of the sketches from the *Spirit* reprinted in this volume is "Life and Manners in Arkansas, | By an Ex-Governor of a Cotton-Growing State."[63] Since McNutt, the only other known ex-governor writing for Porter shows no evidence of having been acquainted with western Arkansas and since the sketch as it first appeared in the *Spirit* was subtitled "By a New Correspondent of the 'Spirit of the Times,'" one is inclined to believe that Butler wrote the sketch and that it was his initial contribution.

True, the author states that the events recounted in the tale were seen by his friend "Governor B---" when the latter stopped for the night at a country farmhouse located near Fort Smith. This seems merely a ruse for concealment and a half-hearted one at that. The story itself concerns a wedding frolic at which an unwilling girl is married to a loutish squatter. The groom contemptuously refuses to consummate the marriage on that night, so the bride's attendants get her up again and the frolic, which consists mainly of drinking and playing a kissing game, "Sister Phebe," goes on until morning. In its theme and in its mixture of earthy realism and pungent humor the piece has affinities with George Washington Harris's first published story, "The Knob Dance—a Tennessee Frolic."[64] Two sketches further from the sentimental romances of the time with their fainting females, chivalrous males, and happy endings could hardly be imagined.

[62] Henry Hastings Sibley wrote factual accounts of life in Minnesota Territory under the nom de plume of "Hal--a Dacotah."

[63] *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, pp. 154-158. Originally printed as "Western Life and Manners | By a New Correspondent of the 'Spirit of the Times,'" *ST*, XIV (March 16, 1844), 25-26.

[64] *ST*, XV (August 2, 1845), 267, republished in *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, pp. 82-90, as "Dick Harlan's Tennessee Frolic."

The second tale by Butler is likewise a dish of backwoods realism salted with humor. A big mountaineer discovers that he is being "taken" in a tavern poker game by means of a speaking tube than runs from the wall behind one of the sharpers to a confederate in the loft who observes the strength of each player's hand through a knothole and reports accordingly. The big mountaineer "raises hell" by beating up one of the gamblers and finally gets back his cash.[65] The evidence of Butler's authorship is not so clear as in the previous instance. The subtitle of the republished version in *A Quarter Race in Kentucky* is "By a Resident of That 'Neck of Timber,'" and Porter says in his prefatory note to this tale:

> The Arkansas "Intelligencer" published at Van Buren, is not only extremely well edited, but it numbers among its correspondents some of the cleverest men west of the Mississippi. The gentlemen alluded to are occasional contributors to the "Spirit of the Times," which boasts of a "baker's dozen" of them, including "N. of Arkansas," an Ex-Governor, Albert Pike, the famous "Col. Pete Whitstone of the Devils Fork of the Little Red," and other celebrities in the literary and sporting world.[66]

"N. of Arkansas" and "Col. Pete Whetstone" (as it was usually spelled) were the same person, namely Charles F. M. Noland, a planter and journalist of Batesville, Arkansas.[67] Albert Pike, who had ambitious literary aims, generally allowed his own name to be used in identifying his tales and sketches. If we assume that the author of this sketch is included in the above list, he can only be the "Ex-Governor," in this case Butler. Then too, in the *Spirit* the sketch is underwritten "Ho-Yarn-Es-Cha"; such a bit of Indian or pseudo-Indian jargon might well occur to a man living and working among the Indians. Finally, the opening of the story reveals that the writer is acquainted with Fort Gibson and the surrounding area.

[65] "The Tin Trumpet," *ST*, XIV (December 14, 1844), 493, credited to the *Arkansas Intelligencer*.

[66] "Playing Poker in Arkansas," *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, p. 197.

[67] See Note 30.

Any one who may have had the good fortune to have laid eyes on the "Chart of this Neck of Timber" drawn from actual surveys, and presented in conformity with a resolution of the Kraked Klub of Fort Gibson to "Old Festivity, president of the Mystic Club of Van Buren—" we say good fortune to have laid eyes upon one of these charts, for there is very few in existence and those zealously preserved by the lucky possessors thereof, must have noticed the locality of the "Prairie Store," situated on a commanding eminence about one mile east of south from the fort.

Though the assembled data are not conclusive, Butler remains the most likely candidate for the authorship of this sketch. Whether he wrote any of the other sketches credited to the *Arkansas Intelligencer* which appeared in the *Spirit* I have not been able to determine.[68]

If we know little about Butler, we know even less of Thomas Kirkman, the third writer named in Porter's letter. Yet Porter waxed rhapsodic—perhaps to tickle the curiosity of his readers —whenever he referred to this gentleman. Porter reprinted "Jones's Fight" in *The Big Bear of Arkansas* and made Kirkman's second story the title piece of *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*. In the prefatory note to "Jones's Fight" Porter said that "The writer, who is also the author of 'A Quarter Race in Kentucky,' is a planter of North Alabama, and a gentleman of family and fortune."[69] He adds that "Few gentlemen are better known in the sporting world, as a breeder and turfman, or who have more distinguished themselves by their wealth, enterprise and spirit." And in his prefatory paragraph to "A Quarter Race in Kentucky" Porter says, "It is a matter of indefinite regret that he cannot be induced to write more frequently; his friends would be 'after him' with a sharp stick, were we to disclose his name, which is familiar to tens of thousands of his countrymen, if they only knew it."[70] One reason, then, for the paucity of data on

[68] He may have written the tale of a shooting in the Cherokee Nation entitled "Death of Tom Merritt," *ST*, XIII (March 11, 1843), 20-21.

[69] *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 32.

[70] *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, p. 13.

this writer is no doubt his extreme aversion to becoming known as the author of such "mere bagatelles," as A. B. Longstreet once called his own backwoods sketches.[71] The degree of this aversion may be judged by the comment Porter made over "A Quarter Race in Kentucky" in the *Spirit* in 1843:

> Nine years since the gifted author of the following article did us the honor to make our columns the medium through which to convey it to the public. A few years subsequently we were obliged to republish it, in order to supply a constant demand, and now we are again called upon to do so by numerous requests from subscribers whose subscriptions do not date so far back as the period when it was last published. Not withstanding every possible exertion was made "here and elsewhere," the writer successfully preserved his incognito for more than two years. We discovered it, by the merest accident, in New Orleans, in conversation with one of his intimate friends, and have since importuned him to write frequently, but to this day he has furnished us with two articles only, of this character, one of which, "*Jones' Fight*"—is, like the "Quarter Race," equal to any sketch of the kind in the language. . . . We were thrown off the scent of his "name and local habitation" by the fact of his sending his communication five hundred miles from his residence to be mailed to us, after being copied in an unknown hand.[72]

In the note to "A Quarter Race in Kentucky" as printed in the book, Porter reprints most of this commentary, and adds that the writer "turns out to be an acquaintance of years' standing, and we have more than once been on the point of threatening to divulge the secret of his authorship, unless he promises to give us another taste of his quality. Let him look to it!"[73]

Apparently Kirkman never did "look to it" and send in more local-color material. His contributions of this kind appear to have been confined to the two excellent sketches mentioned.[74]

[71] John Donald Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, a Study in the Development of Culture in the South* (New York, 1924), pp. 213-214.

[72] *ST*, XIII (August 5, 1843), 265.

[73] *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, p. 13.

[74] A "Letter from the Owner of Peytona" signed "T. Kirkman" merely announces his intention of not racing that famous horse for a year. *ST*, XV (September 3, 1845), 338.

Porter affirms that "A Quarter Race in Kentucky" was first published in the *Spirit* "nine years since." This statement was made in 1843, and suggests that the sketch first appeared in that journal in 1834—the "blank year" so far as the record is concerned. It was republished in 1836 under the heading: "Original Sporting Varieties | A Quarter Race | By Mr. Snooks."[75] In 1838 the tale made a third appearance, this time under the title which it bore permanently.[76] The story also appeared in the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* for October, 1840 (pp. 521 ff). Porter was then editing that magazine in addition to his duties on the *Spirit*. Kirkman's other sketch, "Jones's Fight," was published in the *Spirit* in June, 1840. Under the title appeared the information "Written Expressly for the 'Spirit of the Times.'"[77] Porter reprinted the story in June, 1844.[78] Each tale, as stated, subsequently appeared in one of the volumes compiled by Porter shortly thereafter.[79]

"A Quarter Race in Kentucky" is notable for the quiet irony with which the narrator tells how he was intimidated and fleeced in a crowd of rough tavern loafers who have "got up" a quarter race (a dash of one quarter of a mile) between two local nags. The judge, who is "so cross-eyed he could *look at his own head*," the young jockeys who "used fourth-proof oaths with a volubility that would bother a congressional reporter," and the hard-drinking bettor who fingers his knife and offers the luckless narrator his "dubisary" in lieu of cash are only a few of the details that give this story authenticity and power.

"Jones's Fight" is by contrast a rowdy tale written almost entirely in backwoods dialect. A back country braggart is goaded by his admirers into telling about a great fight he had with an-

[75] *ST*, VI (July 9, 1836), 162.

[76] *ST*, VIII (June 9, 1838), 133-134.

[77] *ST*, IX (January 25, 1840), 559.

[78] *ST*, XIV (June 15, 1844), 181.

[79] "A Quarter Race in Kentucky" has also been reprinted in Meine, ed., *Tall Tales of the Southwest 1830-1860*, pp. 287-295.

other local bully. He makes several attempts to break off his yarn in the middle but his eager hearers force him to go on to the bitter end. Eventually he has to admit that ". . . At last—I hollered."

The author himself seems to have resided at or near Florence, Alabama, and to have had at least two relatives, James and John Kirkman, who like Thomas were horse fanciers. Porter made a long tour of the South in 1838, visiting many of his correspondents,[80] and one may reasonably suppose that he made the acquaintance of Thomas Kirkman at that time. It is almost certain that the two met each other later when Kirkman came to New York in 1845 to run his horse, "Peytona," against the New Jersey favorite, "Fashion" for "10,000 a side." Porter was secretary of the committee in charge of the New York Jockey Club race meeting at which the Peytona-Fashion duel was the main feature.[81] The race was held at the Union Course, Long Island, on May 13, 1845. Kirkman was in New York City by May 10, on which date the *Spirit* recorded that he was staying at the Astor House and trying to sell a two-year-old brother of Peytona.[82] In the race itself Kirkman's horse defeated Fashion handily but lost in a rematch at Camden, New Jersey, five days later.[83]

The only consequential source of information about any of the Kirkmans seems to be the *Spirit* itself, and the scattered references in that periodical tell one a good deal more about the points and merits of the Kirkman horses than about the lives and character of their owners.[84] The same lack of data occurs in

[80] Brinley, pp. 43-46.

[81] "The North vs. the South," *ST*, XV (May 10, 1845), 122.

[82] "On Dits in Sporting Circles," *ST*, XV (May 10, 1845), 122.

[83] "The Championship Decided," *ST*, XV (May 17, 1845), 134-135, and "The Northern Fashion Still the Fashion!" *ST*, XV (May 31, 1845), 158. See also Carvel Collins, *The American Sporting Gallery. Portraits of American Horses from 1839—Spirit of the Times—1844. With a Commentary* . . . (Cambridge, [Mass.,] 1949), [p. 13].

[84] For example see "The Tennessee and Alabama Stables," *ST*, XI (July 24, 1841), 246; "The Great Peytona Stake," *ST*, XI (August 28, 1841), 306; same title, *ST*, XIII (April 15, 1843), 79; same title, *ST*, XIII (October 28, 1843), 461.

the case of John Winslow, member of a distinguished South Carolina family, and the probable author of three sketches in the *Spirit* republished in *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, of at least two other sketches in the magazine, and very possibly of others. One clue which points to Winslow is a request made by Porter of Carey and Hart:

> Will you send a copy of the *Big Bar* to
> John Winslow, Esq. Fayetteville, N. C.
> Hon. P. M. Butler, Cherokee Agent.
> John M. Stuart, Charleston, S. C.
> Albert Pike
> Hoss Allen (through J. M. Field, St. Louis)
> I will undertake to send to the others if an opportunity offers & will direct them to call or send, or put me in the way of sending for copies.[85]

Clearly Porter was seeing to it that everyone who had a story published in *The Big Bear of Arkansas* received a complimentary copy. In the list above our new acquaintance Pierce Mason Butler was the author, as we have seen, of "Life and Manners in Arkansas." Laying Porter under no obligation to conceal their names were John M. Stuart, editor of the Charleston *Mercury;* Albert Pike, Arkansas lawyer and poet; and Joseph M. Field, an editor of the St. Louis *Reveille*. In *The Big Bear* the sketch "A Yankee Who Couldn't Talk Spanish" was by Stuart; "Anecdotes of the Arkansas Bar" was by Pike;[86] and the "Hoss Allen" sketch by Field, who was a prolific author under more than one pseudonym.[87] Only the name of John Winslow thus remains unaccounted for. Now the locale of each author, if not always his name, is given for each piece in *The Big Bear*, and the only

[85] Manuscript letter dated New York, November 20, [1845], in the possession of the New-York Historical Society.

[86] The sketches by Stuart and Pike appear in *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, pp. 140-142 and 159-163 respectively.

[87] See "Swallowing An Oyster Alive" and "Hoss Allen of Missouri," in *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, pp. 80-86 and 164-166, also *The Drama in Pokerville; The Bench and Bar of Jurytown, and Other Stories By "Everpoint," (J. M. Field, Esq., of the St. Louis Reveille)* (Philadelphia, 1850).

pieces ascribed to a North Carolinian are the three sketches given under the one title of "Billy Warrick's Courtship and Wedding."[88] Moreover, in the usual prefatory paragraph Fayetteville is surely indicated as the author's home town:

> Within a hundred miles of Fayetteville, North Carolina, resides one of the most eminent members of the bar the "Tar River country" boasts of. Further, of his identity, "this deponent saith not." Those who have lingered over "A Trip to County Court, by a North Carolina Lawyer," which has gone the rounds of the press, will be somewhat surprised to learn that the "Spirit of the Times" was indebted to the same pen for that masterly sketch, and the following amusing story.[89]

Porter often used such phrases as "within a hundred miles of" or "not far from" to denote the exact location of the place referred to. It was his way of being ironical.[90] Such evidence as the phrasing in this preface is not, of course, significant by itself, but it may be so in conjunction with other details. One such detail is the following notice, which appears on the same page of the *Spirit* as one of the Billy Warrick sketches:

> J.W. of the Old North State—Has greatly obliged us by his package containing several letters, not less than for his "gig" or "bob" for Rockfishing. Though "it is nearly worn out from hard service"—to quote his own words—we "can see what it is" very well, and that it is the handiwork of an artist. We trust J.W. will not fail to gratify us, when his circuit is over, by sending us one "for an ornament" to our "Cabinet of Sporting Curiosities."[91]

[88] *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, pp. 90-105, originally published piecemeal as "Mr. Warrick in Distress," *ST*, XIII (February 3, 1844), 577; "Mr. Warrick in Luck," *ST*, XIV (March 30, 1844), 49; and "Marriage of Bill Warrick and Barbry Bass," *ST*, XIV (October 5, 1844), 373.

[89] *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 90. The sketch referred to, "A Trip to County Court," appeared in *ST*, XIV (October 5, 1844), 379.

[90] Thus: "We have been robbed in such a barefaced manner by some Editors not far from New York that we purposely avoid copying from them, having seen numerous articles which originally appeared in our paper, inserted as Editorial in theirs. ..." *ST*, XXII (June 5, 1852), 192.

[91] "To Correspondents," *ST*, XIV (October 5, 1844), 373. In other words, this item appeared on the same page as "Marriage of Bill Warrick to Barbry Bass."

Barring the outside chance that "J. W." or John Winslow was a circuit-riding minister, the phrase "when his circuit is over" indicates pretty clearly that the man was either a judge on circuit or an attorney following the circuit court from county to county. In fact "A Trip to County Court," which appeared in this issue of the *Spirit*, is nothing more than a straggling description of the motley crowd which has gathered at a lonely tavern for a typical circuit court meeting. Some dota on the author's personal life may be gleaned from an editorial comment which reads in part: "Our capital North Carolina correspondent, the 'Piney Woods Boy,' the writer of 'Billy Warrick's Courtship and Wedding,' of 'A Trip to County Court,' etc., etc., lately sent us a box which was received on Thursday last. . . . On opening it we found, first, a slashing communication in the best style (which will be published next week,). . ."[92] The editor also found a private letter, some buck horns, venison hams, a powder gourd, and a supply of scuppernong wine. Obviously, Winslow, like Porter, was a keen sportsman and a "good liver." Obviously, he was also known to Porter as a source of humorous sketches, unlike Kirkman. Thus in an editorial plug for *The Big Bear* praise appears for: "Albert Pike, Lewis of Llangollen, Brougham, Grattan, Willis, Durivage, Henry, Carleton, Dunbar, McClure, Winslow, Silliman, and twenty others, each one of whom has distinguished himself in the world of letters."[93]

As far as we now know Winslow wrote too little of merit to

[92] "More Curiosities" in "On Dits in Sporting Circles," *ST*, XV (January 31, 1846), 578. For the piece referred to see footnote 95.

[93] *ST*, XV (March 22, 1845), 33, and *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, p. 118. Francis A. Durivage contributed sketches and tales under the pseudonym of "The Old 'Un"; Henry (Captain William Seaton Henry) and Carleton (Lieutenant James Henry Carleton) were army officers who contributed factual and anecdotal narratives of army life and campaigns as "G** de L***" and "J.H.C." respectively. "Lewis of Llangollen," Brougham, Grattan, Willis, and Silliman contributed nothing at all on their own so far as I have found. Porter merely "borrowed" their articles from other magazines. I have not identified the contributions of Dunbar and McClure. For another list of Porter's more active correspondents see his "Preface" to *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, x-xi.

qualify as a leading backwoods writer, but the three Billy Warrick sketches are excellent examples of the Big Bear realism which reached its rowdy peak in *Life on the Mississippi* and *Huckleberry Finn*. The form is that of the dialect letter written by a semi-literate backwoodsman. The first two letters are purportedly written by Billy Warrick himself; the third by a jilted sweetheart of Bill, Miss Nancy Guiton. The three letters tell the story of Billy's courtship of "Barbry Bass," his temporary discomfiture and eventual triumph over the resistance of this backwoods belle. They show the influence of William Tappan Thompson's *Major Jones's Courtship* (1843), but Winslow need not divide the credit for several memorable features of these sketches. Among these features is Barbry's mother, old Mrs. Bass, who scoffs at such frills as lace nightcaps and "injun rubber things blowed up that the gals in town ties around their wastes and makes 'em look bigger behind than before—for all the world like an 'oman was sorter in a curious way behind." Thus does old Mrs. Bass denounce the latest trend in bustles. In another scene the gossip flies thick and fast as old Mrs. Bass and old Mrs. Collis swap views on "prechin and mumps, and the measly ointment, and Tyler gripes." This chimney-corner scene reminds us of Uncle Silas's farmhouse in *Huckleberry Finn*, where the old women are chattering about the mysterious escape of the Negro runaway Jim.

In their misspelling and crude neologisms the Billy Warrick letters anticipate the work of Artemus Ward and the lesser newspaper humorists after the Civil War.[94] Like Mark Twain, however, and unlike Ward, Winslow avoided the error of depending for most of his humor on such shallow devices. He relied mainly on character and situation. Billy Warrick and the

[94] A specimen of Winslow's use of dialect is in order. Billy begins one of his letters: "Bein' in grate distrest, I didn't know what to do till one of the lawyers councilld me to tell you all about it, and git your opinion. You see I bin a sparkin over to one of our nabors a cortin of Miss Barbry Bass, nigh upon these six munse. . . ."

Bass family are sharply individualized despite being also comic types, and when Winslow departed from their precincts, as in his other two sketches, his work lost its unity and vigor. This is particularly true of "Reflections of the Piney-Woods Boy," a colorless bit of historical romance about an incident in the Revolution.[95]

One more tale reprinted from the *Spirit* deserves attention because of a misprint which may have misled some bibliographers. One of the stories in *A Quarter Race in Kentucky* is entitled "Somebody in My Bed" and appeared under the subcaption "W. J. Jones, Esq., of Harrisburg, Pa." In the *Spirit* this tale had appeared under the designation "U. J. Jones."[96] I have found no reference to any W. J. Jones of the time, and I think it likely that the author of this tale was the well-known journalist and local historian Uriah James Jones (1818-1864), who edited newspapers in Hollidaysburg, Harrisburg, and other Pennsylvania towns and who wrote a novel, *Simon Girty, the Outlaw* (1846) and a *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (1856) as well as a number of humorous items for the *Spirit* and other periodicals.[97] "Somebody in My Bed" is noteworthy

[95] "Reflections of the Piney-Woods Boy, | Before the Fire of a Stormy December Night. | Death of Lieut.-Col. Webster. | Written for the 'Spirit of the Times' by the Author of 'A Trip to County Court,' 'Billy Warrick's Courtship and Wedding.' etc.," *ST*, XV (February 7, 1846), 591-592.

[96] Cf. *ST*, XV (December 13, 1845), 489, and *A Quarter Race in Kentucky*, p. 168.

[97] *Simon Girty, the Outlaw*, edited by A. Monroe Aurand, Jr. (Harrisburg, 1931), and *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, edited by Floyd G. Hoenstine (Harrisburg, 1940). Some of Jones's known contributions to the *Spirit* are: "An Irish Bird," *ST*, XVI (May 23, 1846), 152; "Jack Muggins's Ghost," *ST*, XVI (February 13, 1847), 607-608; "Two Good Ones from U. J. Jones," *ST*, XIX (December 8, 1849), 494; "Nine Cheers for Old Zim," *ST*, XIX (December 8, 1849), 499; and "An English Traveller's Adventures in a Western Menagerie," *ST*, XXI (February 7, 1852), 602-603. Data on Jones's life may be found in Aurand's edition of *Simon Girty*, ix; William H. Egle's "Appendix," to Jones's *History*, pp. 353-356; *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, Series 1, Vol. II (1895), p. 215; and anon., "A Biographical Sketch of the Late Jonathan F. Kelly," intro. to J.[onathan] F.[alconbridge] Kelly, *The Humors of Falconbridge* (Philadelphia, 1856), pp. 23-24.

for having been subjected to the only significant editorial change which Porter made in any of the stories reprinted from the *Spirit* in either of his two collections. While assembling the stories in *The Big Bear of Arkansas* Porter had written to Carey and Hart: "There may be, in the course of it, an occasional indelicate expression or allusion that it would be, perhaps, desirable to expunge. In such an event will you direct your proof reader to do me the favor to expunge, alter or amend in such manner as may seem unto him right and proper?"[98] We must remember that this was the era of smelling salts and crinoline in fiction, when an irate Southwestern humorist could refer contemptuously to "the exalted tastes of the Miss Nannyites, who dress the legs of their tables in frilled pantalettes, and faint over a nude cherub."[99]

Thus Porter strengthened the growing movement of frontier realism in two ways: he founded and edited the nation's leading sporting and humorous weekly, and he printed and reprinted in all their rawness the boisterous contributions of his backwoods correspondents. But let us emphasize that the record is still incomplete concerning the *Spirit of the Times*. A close study of the editorial columns, straight news, obituary notices, book reviews, and sporting commentary of the *Spirit* alone will furnish clues to the identity of many of these correspondents (although some of them no doubt deserve to remain unidentified!). For instance an obituary comment identifies "The Little 'Un," an occasional contributor, as Coddington C. Jackson, a planter and horse fancier of Louisiana.[100] Likewise two other items reveal that "Thomas the Rhymer," who wrote many dialect sketches for the *Spirit* under that title, was Thomas Dunn English, novelist, journalist, author of the song "Ben Bolt," and enemy of Edgar Allan

[98] Letter from Porter to Carey and Hart dated New York, February 14, 1845, in the possession of the New-York Historical Society.

[99] "Fire in the Rear; | Or, Bill Jones Among the Girls," *ST*, XXI (May 10, 1851), 136, credited to the New Orleans *Delta*.

[100] "Death of 'The Little 'Un,'" *ST*, XXV (January 26, 1856), 597.

Poe.[101] Porter often boasted that he numbered members of Congress—eighteen, he claimed at one time[102]—among his correspondents. One of the easiest of these honorable members to identify is Senator Alexander Porter of Louisiana. In the death notice for this politician, planter, and sportsman the editor stated: "For many years he has done us the honor to make the columns of the 'Spirit of the Times,' the medium of communicating to the world the results of his observation and practical experience, in regard to the great interests to which this journal is devoted."[103] The contributions of Alexander Porter were, however, chiefly epistolary essays on the turf and related matters.[104]

[101] "New Publications," *ST*, XIX (September 22, 1849), 372, and "Another 'Spirit' Correspondent 'Around!'" *ST*, XXIV (November 11, 1854), 530. Poe had attacked English in "The Literati" as "Thomas Dunn Brown." See *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and George Edward Woodberry (New York and Pittsburgh, 1909), VIII, 64-68.

[102] Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest 1830-1860*, xxix.

[103] "Death of Judge Porter," *ST*, XIII (February 3, 1844), 588.

[104] Without an acknowledgement of the author's debt to Professor Nelson F. Adkins of New York University, this article would remain grossly incomplete.

Henry Stevens: The Making of a Bookseller

By Wyman W. Parker

In recounting his appointment as agent for the purchase of American books for the British Museum, Henry Stevens stated that he had "drifted" into the Museum one summer's day of 1845. There was, in fact, nothing fortuitous about it, for Stevens had forearmed himself with a letter of introduction to the librarian, Antonio Panizzi, from the leading American historian, Jared Sparks. Although Stevens was but twenty-five at the time and unknown to the London book trade, he had a good knowledge of his chosen field and some experience in bookselling, acquired on his own initiative during the previous two years. He never clerked in a bookstore or understudied any book dealer or scout; he simply began to sell books to acquaintances and found that he needed no shop to become successful at this interchange of books for profit. Stevens often retold this tale of his remarkable fortune when arriving in London with but forty gold sovereigns; but he passed over the details of his preparation for this grand chance, and they are not generally available to the many delighted readers of his eccentric biography, *The Recollections of Mr. James Lenox of New York and the formation of his library* (London, 1886; reprinted New York, 1951).

The correspondence between Peter Force and Henry Stevens in the Force Papers of the Library of Congress[1] fills in the details of this earlier period of Stevens' life, and illumines the process by which this young man trained himself to become a

[1] I am much indebted to Mr. Frederick R. Goff for his courtesy in offering me duplicate transcripts of the Stevens correspondence (hitherto unpublished).

great bookseller. While Stevens is chiefly known today as the most fruitful source for John Carter Brown and James Lenox in the building of their great collections of rare books relating to America, in the nineteenth century he was renowned in the United States for his success as Panizzi's agent. By 1865 Stevens had placed over 100,000 American books in the British Museum, thereby making that collection the most complete in Americana of the century. This gained him many commissions abroad for those important libraries in the United States which were then in the process of building up their resources.

Henry Stevens was born in Barnet, Vermont, on August 24, 1819, the third of eleven children of a remarkable man who combined farming with various business interests, and yet had a continuing interest in historical documents. After the usual country schooling, Henry Stevens taught for a year before attending Middlebury College in 1838-1839. Unlike his classmates, Henry did not raise more money for further education by teaching in the winter months, but went to Washington and sought the patronage of Senator Henry Hubbard, a second cousin. As clerk of a joint committee of Congress under the chairmanship of Senator Hubbard, Stevens in the spring of 1840 was assigned the abstracting of papers relating to the Clarke & Force contract for publishing the now celebrated *American Archives*. This resulted in Stevens' strong plea for continuing this contract, although it was the understood purpose of the committee to recommend cancellation. He was censured for his presumption until Daniel Webster of the committee interfered and endorsed Stevens' position. Senator Hubbard was forced to report to Congress that his committee was deadlocked, and the Clarke & Force contract was preserved so that the publication of the *Archives* was continued for another thirteen years. There was, however, no more work in Washington for Henry, who had displeased his patron by his unorthodox behavior.

Henry Stevens had burned his bridges in Washington, albeit

in the excellent company of Webster and Force, and so he returned to college to complete the work for his degree. He entered the sophomore class of Yale in the fall of 1840 to spend his next three years in New Haven. His choice of Yale was part of his ever-ambitious way of life as his horizons expanded. Yale had a relationship with Middlebury, for President Timothy Dwight of Yale in 1798 during his celebrated Travels stopped there to advise the town fathers on founding a college. Relations between the two institutions had always been pleasant, but Yale was more sophisticated; nearer cosmopolitan centers; and larger, older, and more securely established.

The academic and social record made by Stevens at Yale was very creditable, particularly since he went through college on a shoestring. In his first year, he won third prize in his division for English composition. This brought him membership in the literary society, Chi Delta Theta, the second oldest Greek letter organization in the country. The following year he had the junior appointment of "third disputer," ranking him about seventh in his class of nearly 100 on his cumulative scholastic record. This honor required an appearance at the public occasion of the Junior Exhibition. He became librarian of the famous Society Library, Brothers in Unity, which exists today, joined with Linonian, as the separate undergraduate library at Yale. Even more important in those days, it numbered about 8,500 volumes. His social attachments grew in his senior year, since he became one of fifteen members of the Psi Upsilon fraternity and was tapped for Skull & Bones, the Senior Honorary Society. His A.B. degree was granted in August, 1843. Three years later, when he was in London, an M.A. was awarded him *in absentia*, in accordance with the prevailing custom which required only that the applicant be of good moral character. He was proud of the Skull & Bones honor, and usually mentioned it as part of his eccentric procedure of listing numerous honorary and society memberships after his name on the title-pages of his many pub-

lications. He evidently was not quite so satisfied with his A.B., for his title-pages occasionally carry a dubious "Sometime Student in Yale College." In the class books then popular, Henry signed himself with the many flourishes characteristic of the artistic tastes of the period. He favored an elaborate quill pen design with the legend "Wield it manfully," and on occasion supplemented it with a sentimental "Old Yale Forever." He nearly failed to graduate from lack of funds. College bills of $75 had to be met before he could receive his diploma, while other bills had been accumulating since his arrival in New Haven. On the eve of Commencement, on August 17th that year, Henry had outstanding debts of nearly $600. Part of this amount he tried to get as an advance payment on copying that he was doing for Peter Force.

In the spring of his senior year, in desperate financial straits, Henry had sought aid from Colonel Force, who agreed to employ Stevens to copy documents for his collection of Americana. This was to an extent "made" work, and Henry acknowledged Force's help in "boosting" him through college. He wrote: "I find this hoeing one's way through college is rather a tough business, but it must go. I am under great obligation to you, Sir, for this employment you have given me. . ."[2] The rate was generous, at ten cents per hundred words, but Force must have liked his returns, for he continued to accept certain MSS for the next few years. Stevens was busy this last part of his senior year, surely to the detriment of his studies, borrowing and copying documents to get himself out of debt. Nevertheless, he went at it with a zest that indicates he was approaching his life work. Many of the documents were so highly esteemed by their owners that they had to be returned each night. Some were unavailable in March, being stored in rooms where no fire could be lit. He found documents in every garret, and measured them by the bushel. Soon he had four students busily employed in copying

[2] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, May 11, 1843. (Force Papers.)

them. In spite of receiving $472 from Force from March to August, he still lacked funds to graduate. Failing to get an advance from Force, he at last took a note for $550 from a New Haven bank, with Professor James Kingsley as his guarantor. Kingsley, a Latin professor at Yale, was a kindred spirit who was already recognized as an authority on New England history. He was at this time preparing a biography of Ezra Stiles, former President of Yale, to be published in 1844 as part of Volume 6 of the second series of Jared Sparks' *American Biography*. In spite of this help from Kingsley, however, it was to Force that he wrote later to say: ". . . I am so much indebted [to you] for my past success, and for the facilities afforded me in my favorite study . . . for I am free to confess that to you, more than to all others, except my kind father, do I owe my education."[3]

Henry, ever restless and striving, now decided to continue his studies at the Harvard Law School. He made a trip to Cambridge in June of his senior year to enroll in the session beginning the following January, taking the precaution to request an introduction from Mr. Force to his son, Manning, then a sophomore at Harvard. While visiting Cambridge, Stevens interested George Bancroft, then Collector of the Port of Boston, with an account of the documentary treasures in the vicinity of New Haven, and exacted a promise from him to come to Connecticut during the summer. Bancroft had notable educational experience from his early studies in Germany, years of teaching at Harvard, and eight more years at the experimental Round Hill School in Northampton which he and Joseph Cogswell founded. He was already known for his *History of the United States*, volumes of which appeared throughout the major portion of his life. The first three volumes, which constituted a "History of the Colonization of the United States" (1834-1840), had given him national recognition. Stevens immediately mentioned Bancroft's proposed visit to Force to demonstrate that the materials

[3] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, April 12, 1845. (Force Papers.)

he was uncovering were valuable and were desired by another. In his letter of June 25th informing Force of Bancroft's interest, Henry spoke of getting "into a nest that is well feathered," and of his desire to complete the copying of these MSS as fast and silently as possible "lest some jealous person may endeavor to frustrate my designs." By August 1st, Stevens was writing Force: "Bancroft sends word that he shall be here next week. I showed him one volume of Stiles' Diary and he is hungry for the rest." This technique Stevens later perfected in playing off his two major customers, Lenox and Brown, to his own great financial advantage.

After graduation from Yale, Henry applied himself assiduously to collecting manuscripts. He exhausted the New Haven possibilities, curiously enough, coincidentally with his completion of schooling there. Early in May he had imagined with youthful enthusiasm that there was no place in New England so rich in old documents as New Haven. He then exuberantly informed Force: "I have just got some of these old families waked up, and they are beginning to gather up their old manuscripts."[4] By July, he reported that New Haven had had a pretty thorough raking, and that there were but few valuable manuscripts left, all of which he could finish copying by graduation. Thereafter Henry ranged afield.

That fall, making his base at Norwich, Henry covered nearly every town in New London County. He visited, he reported, "the Seat of the Trumbulls, and the land of Uncas" and interested several influential men in the matter. He wrote Force on September 13:

> I returned to New Haven last evening after a cruise of eleven days thro' New London County. I have seen more old Pensioners and ransacked more old garrets than you could shake a stick at. The towns I have visited are Norwich, Lebanon, Franklin, Bozrah, Salem, Jewett City, Preston, Griswold, Colchester, New London, Waterford, Groton, Lyme,

[4] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, June 1, 1843. (Force Papers.)

Saybrook & Essex. I have beat the bush in all these places and shall return there soon to gather up the fruit.

After frequent urging, Force came up to Norwich to examine some of the finds, indicate what manuscripts he desired copied, and settle accounts.

Henry Stevens, Sr., also visited his son in Connecticut, and gave him some sound advice at the outset of his career which prevented this young cockerel from flying completely out of sight. Young Stevens' confession to Force ends with a characteristically commercial fillip:

> From a conversation with father I am sensible I have done wrong in letting Bancroft have anything that I have sent you. You, although your work covers all others, must naturally have a feeling about being the first to bring to light any important fact.—I shall do so no more—Henceforth I shall work in this business for you & myself only—And not for others unless they *pay*—.[5]

This was a propitious time in which to hunt for documents in Connecticut. Not much attention had been paid to historical records in Colonial days, and many official items were scattered in attics among the papers of former officials. Henry, for example, found in a farmer's garret more than twenty-five years' Records of the Governor and Council of the Colony of Connecticut which were missing from the State House. Historical societies in the larger cities were just beginning to become proudly aware of the history made nearby, and to become conscious of their obligation to preserve local records. Fortunately for Henry, most country people neither valued nor cared about the wealth of material which soon became his for little cash outlay. Henry was working just in advance of a wave of enthusiasm which swept the states for the writing of town and county histories.

It was a very short step from copying manuscripts to acquiring early books and manuscripts by purchase. Soon Henry had

[5] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, Oct. 1, 1843. (Force Papers.)

200 volumes on hand, including pamphlets on the French War, the Stamp Act, and the Revolutionary War; a nearly complete set of Connecticut Election Sermons from 1750 to 1810, and many of the old Laws of Connecticut. He measured them now in terms of half a ton, rather than in bushels as he had when in school six months before. He maintained that some of the volumes which he had collected were for his own projected history of the French and Indian Wars, but he was fundamentally a dealer, and by January, 1844, he was making up a catalogue of over 500 volumes of books on America after the pattern of Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana*. He sent it in eighty pages of foolscap to Force, along with five sample volumes bound like others of the collection, in the pious hope that "you will deem [them] worthy of acceptance as presents." However, the booksellers "Bartlet [*sic*] & Welford, [and] Bancroft & Sparks have each & all applied to me for some of them, but I have uniformly refused to part with one until I had presented you with a catalogue. I would on no consideration part with them, but to get out of debt. I must have money, and soon too & my last resort shall be to sell my library."[6] This approach was to be his practice with other customers at a later date when the purses were longer, the bindings more sumptuous, and the collections in hand worth thousands of dollars.

As his collecting and selling practices were being formulated, his literary and historical interests began to emerge. Throughout his life Stevens wrote and published and gave talks on the materials with which he dealt in his daily book trade. Even while at Yale, just before graduation, Stevens drew up from original manuscripts a sketch in four parts of Roger Sherman, signer of the Constitution, for one of the local newspapers. The Historical Society of Hartford asked him that fall to give a talk on General Israel Putnam at their January meeting. He was delighted to begin collecting books on this Colonial hero, visited

[6] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, Jan. 9, 1844. (Force Papers.)

his descendants, and made an exploration of Putnam's famous wolf den in Pomfret. Stevens continued to work on this project while in Law School, but there is no record of his actually addressing the society, now known as the Connecticut Historical Society. Probably the distance was too great from Cambridge, and his researches too varied and inconclusive, to warrant the trip. He was elected a member of the Society on May 20, 1845, and made numerous donations to it thereafter. His collection of books on the French Wars was sacrificed in the interests of getting abroad, and he never went any further with his history.

During the fall before he began to attend Harvard, Henry continued to importune Force for an advance on copying so that he could pay his New Haven debt. He did this despite the fact that he obviously was purchasing books and pamphlets as rapidly as he could lay hands on any cash. This was always his trouble, for he loved books and bought them liberally. Only afterwards would he make desperate efforts to get funds to hold the books until he could garner his bibliographical data, and then sell them to advantage. In the meantime, Force wisely did not send any advances, and Professor Kingsley had to meet Stevens' note at the bank.

In December Henry Stevens "recollected" that in August Force had consented that Stevens might draw upon him for cash in advance of what was due. Therefore, on December 23, Henry wrote the Hon. Paul Dillingham, Congressman from Vermont, whom he did not personally know, asking him to present Force with a draft for $450. (Force's actual bill for copying received was at the time but $151.47.) This was courteously refused by Force, who wrote Stevens reviewing their agreement of the previous August:

> When I saw you last, I mentioned to you that as I would be out of money, until July next, it was necessary to suspend the further copying of what was not immediately wanted; but upon your representing the particular circumstances in which you were placed, that you then had

copying to a large amount finished, you were under obligations to a friend and that for three hundred and fifty dollars, more than you had at your command, I agreed to let you finish copying to that amount.[7]

Then in February, 1844, Force received a letter from Professor Kingsley asking him to honor a draft of $415 (the amount of the New Haven debt at the time). This he refused to do, sending Henry the sum due, $253.76, but stating that Stevens should suspend all further copying for him.[8]

Young Henry was well aware of what he had been doing, for he wrote Force on March 16, 1844, about the happy solution of his finances.

I am afraid my numerous importunate letters offended you. The fact was I was driven to such straights that I was more than half crazy, and since now by the liberality of my kind friend Gov. Hubbard, I am completely relieved in my pecuniary affairs, and I can look back quietly, my only wonder is that you did not get out of patience with me long ago.[9]

Gov. Hubbard's assistance to Henry at this time does not necessarily mean that Henry was completely taken back into his good graces. It is much more likely that the required sum was signed for by Henry's father, constituting his father's debt to the Hubbards on which Henry occasionally made payments in subsequent years from London. Henry did in effect finance himself into the book business by the use of some of the money that Force had paid him, which was intended for settlement of his college debts. Such treatment of a friend was not characteristic of Henry Stevens, and it must only have been the urgency of finding his life's work which compelled him to use Force so casually. Simon, Henry's younger brother, a very "sharp" individual, played a similar trick in "borrowing temporarily" $2,000 from Henry without his consent in 1860, at a time of great financial stress in his London business.

[7] Peter Force to Henry Stevens, Dec. 29, 1843. (Force Papers.)

[8] Peter Force to Henry Stevens, Feb. 8, 1844. (Force Papers.)

[9] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, March 16, 1844. (Force Papers.)

Stevens entered Harvard Law School on January 9, 1844. Some years later he described his interlude at Cambridge as having been spent "reading passively with legal Story, and actively with historical Sparks, all the while sifting and digesting the treasures of the Harvard Library."[10] Cambridge must have been an exciting place for a young man of Henry's interests and temperament. Jared Sparks was at the height of a great career as a teacher, in addition to having an eminent position as an historical scholar of America. Even in England his publications were read and discussed with interest. Joseph Story, Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was giving a celebrated series of lectures from the rich experience of his notable legal career. In this last year before his death he had attracted 150 students to the College of Law. Harvard College was ably fulfilling its rôle as the nation's leading educational institution. Its professors were travelled men with good knowledge of European culture. Harvard, sensitive to educational trends, had even sent Ticknor to the Continent before he took up his language teaching duties. Sparks and Prescott had travelled in Europe; Bancroft as well as Ticknor had studied at Göttingen, Longfellow at Heidelberg; and all had made pilgrimages to talk with Goethe.[11]

Francis Parkman, on fire with his mission of writing a history of the Colonial Wars, was then a senior at Harvard, and he soon became aware of Henry Stevens. He knew Henry's scheme of preparing a biography of Putnam, and noted in his *Journal* of 1844 that Stevens owned plans of the Lake George Battleground, which was in Parkman's area of special interest. In 1845, Henry's brother Simon, who was studying law in Thaddeus Stevens' office in Lancaster, Pa., took Parkman on a visit to the old Allegheny frontier. Henry must have abandoned his project of writing a history of the French and Indian Wars at about this

[10] H. Stevens, *Schedule of Two Thousand American Historical Nuggets* ... (London, 1870), p. [1].

[11] O. W. Long, *Literary Pioneers, Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Harvard, 1935).

time, surely recognizing Parkman's special abilities and powerful determination.

There was a fine intellectual ferment in the Boston area, with gifted teachers in Cambridge, great historians in Boston, and the Concord literary group publishing *The Dial* nearby. There was a forward-looking spirit, stimulated by the transcendentalism of the Unitarians and based on a real knowledge of and appreciation for the values of an older world. Excellent book collections that enhanced Boston's prestige were in the process of formation by scholars and business men, who exercised zeal and discrimination in this pursuit. Crowninshield, Deane, Dowse, and Livermore were outstanding names in this field. Henry, not recognizing the permanent nature of this interest, miscalled it "the rage for collecting books related to America [which] has by no means subsided in Boston, but on the contrary the *'Club'* seems more crazy than ever."[12] The new historians were in part responsible for this interest, for many people followed with great appreciation the publications of Sparks, Bancroft, and Prescott. This national consciousness in Boston among the scholarly inevitably turned into a preoccupation with the past, while it caused among the merchants an even greater expansion of markets into international trade. At Harvard Emerson had delivered in 1837 his Phi Beta Kappa address, a veritable intellectual Declaration of Independence.

The Library of Harvard College was a treasure-trove, and its librarians were active in building up its collections. Henry noted that "the college is waking up, and seems determined to buy every thing, not already possessed, relating to America."[13] Harvard bought at the Boston auctions, and in addition ordered a large number of books from Obadiah Rich in London. Henry reported: "This [shipment] will make the Harvard collection very complete in all books relating to America, which were

[12] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, April 5, 1845. (Force Papers.)
[13] *Ibid.*

printed in Europe, but that Library is remarkably deficient in those printed in America."[14] Stevens remembered this shipment well, and in 1870 he borrowed from Harvard two leaves from Hariot's *Virginia* to perfect another copy he desired to sell, leaving a deposit of $100 as a guarantee against replacements not received.[15] Henry did get to know their collection intimately, acquiring a basic knowledge in his chosen field of Americana from the books themselves. Not only did he inform himself of the great items of American bibliography which they held; he noted those lacking, some of which he might later supply through his own purchases. To his enormous advantage, he would before the end of the following year apply these same methods to the collections of the British Museum Library.

The Boston area was Henry Stevens' base for a year and a half from January, 1844. His studies at Law School were, however, definitely overshadowed by his time-consuming and ever-engrossing book business. He left school at the end of the term in July, transferring his residence to 4 Court Street, Boston, where he had a third-story room in the house of his cousin Nathaniel D. Hubbard. Nathaniel was one of Henry Hubbard's sons, in the brokerage business with his brothers in Boston. Henry remained on friendly terms with the firm of Hubbard Brothers during his years in London, and used them as his Boston agency to collect and exchange money. Although Henry became a friend of Sparks and was fired by his great enthusiasm for historical scholarship, it is doubtful that Stevens' formal connection with the Law School lasted for all the years he implied. More probable was his reminiscence of scouting from Vermont to Delaware, "prospecting in out of the way places for historical nuggets, mous-

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] In the Clements Library there is an amusing correspondence between Randolph G. Adams, late librarian of the Clements Library, and Alfred C. Potter, then librarian of Harvard, deciding that although Harvard used this deposit toward paying for Larousse's *Dictionary* in 1877, it should have been refunded to Stevens, who let the matter drop after writing an indignant letter in 1879. Potter concluded in 1935 that this debt was outlawed by time.

ing through town libraries and country garrets in search of anything old that was historically new for Peter Force and his American Archives."[16] Remarkable fortune had attended his searches, where "many an antiquated churn, sequestered hencoop, and dilapidated flour barrel had yielded to him rich harvests of old papers, musty books and golden pamphlets."[17] He did sell items to Force, but he was also selling large numbers to Yale and Harvard. He expected Harvard to take half of the 500 books he offered Force from his first, handwritten catalogue. He was also selling to individuals among the Cambridge scholars, such as Sparks and Bancroft, and to Boston collectors such as Livermore, Deane, and Dowse.

Auction sales of books attracted him, and he began a distinguished career in the sales rooms by bidding in several hundred dollars' worth of material for Force at the George Chalmers collection of American History (gathered in England), at Howe, Leonard & Company's auction of July 23, 1844. He had sent an advance catalogue of the sale to Force making this suggestion and: "As I shall be there, it will be no inconvenience to me, and of course no extra expense to you. . . . I think there will be no long pursued competition in the fie[l]d. The Harvard Library has already many of the rarest.—Sparks has gone to Halifax—and all the Antiquarians of the Law School & College are off.—Bartlet [*sic*] & Welford's agent will probably be the only high bidder."[18] The offer was a boon to Force, who was about to leave Washington at great inconvenience to his business to attend the sale. Henry put his heart into it and was satisfied with his purchases in Force's behalf, although he was not yet fully imbued with the competitive spirit which made later sales so zestful for him: "I shall have a tale to tell you of the wonderful conduct of

[16] H. Stevens, *Schedule of . . . Nuggets . . .*, p. [1].

[17] *Ibid.*, p. [1].

[18] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, July 15, 1844. (Force Papers.) Bartlett & Welford was a New York book-importing firm.

our George B[ancroft] to whom you wrote—and who, I believe, did his best to manoeuvre me out of some of the best of the books —particularly No. 240."[19]

Stevens attended Gurley and Hill's auction in New York on November 18, with orders to bid for several Boston gentlemen. This was a notable event, since it was the only sale in America of books from the libraries of the Duke of Sussex and Robert Southey. It was a momentous occasion for Henry Stevens, for there, in company with Peter Force, he became acquainted with his first great client, John Carter Brown. Henry refers to this sale in a subsequent letter from London, asking Force in behalf of Panizzi about a particular work which "you bought at auction in New York where Mr. Brown bought Columbus's Letter."[20] At the time of this New York auction Stevens sold both Brown and Force books from his personal collection. He was pleased to remember this when offering the Ternaux collection to both Force and Brown: "But if you should, fortunately for me, both happen to desire it, why then you will perhaps agree to do as you did in N. York—and snap the copper for such as I cannot find you duplicates of."[21]

It was a short step for such an ambitious lad as Henry Stevens, from purchasing a few books at auction to attempt the rôle of agent in the sale of a major portion of an entire library. Samuel Gardner Drake, a Boston bookseller and historian, had recently published the *Book of Indians* (Boston, 1841), an enlarged eighth edition of his *Indian Biography* (Boston, 1832), and now wanted to dispose of his private library of Americana. Henry, finding Drake wanted $2,000 for his library of about 3,000 volumes, got him to allow Force the first pick to about half the collection for $1,000. Force, however, was not interested, and Drake sold the whole collection to George Brinley previous to the scheduled

[19] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, July 27, 1844. (Force Papers.)

[20] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, Feb. 28, 1846. (Force Papers.)

[21] *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1845.

public auction of May 27, 1845. Stevens was later to operate more independently, for in 1858 he alone purchased for $10,000 the library that Drake had accumulated in the interval.

In the spring of 1845 Force and Stevens had a falling out which taught Stevens a lesson in ethics, by which he profited in future dealings. Stevens had presumed on Force's good nature the previous November by giving a Boston auction house a draft drawn on Force for $161.03. This enabled Stevens to take delivery on books he had purchased at auction for Yale College. Henry at the same time sent a trunk full of books and manuscripts on approval to Force in anticipation of Force's choosing items to at least the sum of the draft, so that Force would pay the auction company's bill when it was presented. In effect Stevens was taking payment in Boston for books to be selected later in Washington, thus setting himself a risky if not questionable precedent. Then in March, 1845, Henry placed his own collection of books with Howe, Leonard & Company to form part of an auction sale. The sale of his books came to $834, from which the auction company took a commission of $195.68. However, before receiving this statement of account, Stevens had believed that his books had sold for $875, and in his ignorance of auction customs had not expected such a large bill for expenses. Therefore he had drawn upon the auction house for more money than was due him. His last draft on this supposed credit was made in favor of a Washington bookseller. Stevens, then in Washington, had requested that Force endorse the note so that the bookseller would accept it as payment. Howe, Leonard & Company refused to honor this draft, since Stevens did not have the necessary credit with them, and Force had to make good the sum. Henry's letter to Peter Force saying he was sending a box of books on approval to cover the sum was sent two weeks after the draft had been returned protested to Force. Stevens' tardy explanation had not been received when Force penned him a hot letter:

I paid Mr. Morrison, with the expenses on the Draft, $63.75, and expected you would immediately replace the money, without being reminded of the necessity for your doing so. Your silence compels me to request you will send me the amount, forthwith. At the same time I take the liberty to advise you, never hereafter, under any circumstances, to resort again to such an expedient to raise money: you cannot succeed in it without the loss of friends and of character.[22]

Force examined these books carefully, only to be horrified at the prices.

When I proposed to you last Summer to collect books for me, I agreed to pay you a fair price, (without regard to their cost to you,) for what you might gather, of such as could not be procured in the regular way of purchasing, and were without an ascertained value; but it was expressly understood that this arrangement did not include such as were found in Bookstores or in Sale Catalogues with fixed prices; on such I was to pay you a commission merely. I advanced you money and took the Books you offered me, without scrutiny, at your own prices.[23]

When Force found five of the books listed in foreign dealers' catalogues for a total of 55 shillings while Stevens' asking price was $56, he asked and received discounts of 20% and 25% on his last two bills. This episode resulted in a coolness on Force's part for the next several years. It was not permanent, however, as Stevens was able to tempt Force later with treasures which only he could offer.

Force was justified in being annoyed at Henry. He apparently had to look sharply to avoid becoming embroiled at this time in the financial predicaments of the Stevens family. Henry Stevens, Senior, who had visited Force in Washington in 1843, was now collecting manuscripts for him in Vermont. Father Stevens tried to induce Force to employ his eldest son, Enos, while his younger son Simon was also importuning Force. Simon in Lan-

[22] Peter Force to Henry Stevens, April 8, 1845. (Force Papers.) Also quoted in John Spencer Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, 1917), pp. 284-285.

[23] Peter Force to Henry Stevens, April 27, 1845. (Force Papers.)

caster, Pa., was copying manuscripts for Force at five cents per one hundred words, and just as his older brother Henry did, tried to get an advance on copying not completed to satisfy his board bill with Thaddeus Stevens.

Henry Stevens had educated himself very rapidly in the book business. He had a native ingenuity in acquiring valuable books and manuscripts; a veritable genius for nosing out important material in his "mousing about old garrets," as he phrased his searchings. He was a Yankee trader, and as such determined his markets readily and advantageously. He had a real veneration for bibliography, as well as a love of history and a fine appreciation of how the materials he handled contributed to the record of developing civilization. Now, scarcely two years after he had begun his chosen work, he was impatient to visit London, the great center of English culture, reputedly so rich in book treasures. His Boston days gave him confidence in himself and a vision of the opportunities to garner books in the older country. He described this feeling as "an irrefragable desire [which] impelled him to visit the old world, its libraries and bookstalls."[24] Before he left America, he made an eventful trip to see John Carter Brown in Providence. There he saw Mr. Brown's library, and received such fine encouragement that years later he termed this occasion a "pivot" in his life. He told Force:

> I have large orders from Brown for rare books relating to America and another large order from Murphy[25] [both wanted complete sets of the Jesuit *Relations*], and small orders from several other gentlemen. With all these orders I shall allow but few scarce books to pass unbought, if I am so lucky as to find them and so also of Manuscripts. Brown has given me beside his list a *general order*, for *all* rare old books relating to Am[a]. which he had not already,—and will pay "*fair prices*" on delivery.[26]

George Livermore, the Boston bibliophile, a good friend and

[24] H. Stevens, *Schedule of ... Nuggets ...*, p. [1].

[25] Henry C. Murphy, Owls Head, Long Island, New York.

[26] Henry Stevens to Peter Force, June 8, 1845. (Force Papers.)

customer of Stevens, had already left early in April of that year to spend six months abroad with "heavy orders" for Crowninshield, Deane, Dowse, Chapin, and others, and Stevens understood that he was going to try to buy Col. Aspinwall's famous library. Stevens was chafing to get away when the Rev. Joseph B. Felt sailed in May with a commission from Governor Briggs of Massachusetts and from the Massachusetts Historical Society to look up documents relating to America in England. Stevens thereupon tried to outdo him by getting similar commissions from Governor Baldwin of Connecticut and Governor Slade of Vermont. The Historical Societies of Rhode Island and Connecticut also authorized him to search for documents relating to the Colonial histories of their respective states. He planned to induce the Historical Society of New Hampshire and the State Legislature to give him a similar commission. Governor Roberts of Rhode Island, favoring the historical collection plan, gave him a letter to the Hon. Edward Everett, the United States Minister. Henceforth, the supplying of document briefs and indexes for American societies constituted a substantial auxiliary endeavor for Stevens during his first decades in London.

Acquiring transcripts of Colonial documents in foreign archives was not a new idea to American historians. John R. Brodhead of New York went in 1839 to Holland, where he was attached to the United States Legation at The Hague. While there he was appointed by Governor Seward of New York as an agent to procure and transcribe original documents concerning the Colonial period of New York. He spent three rewarding years searching the archives of Holland, England, and France, procuring a vast collection of documents which included a large part of the correspondence of the colonial authorities of New York with their governments at home. He returned to the United States in 1844, and Henry became acquainted with him early in 1845. Stevens wrote Force that he was awaiting a commission from Governor Slade of Vermont which was to be similar to

Mr. Brodhead's, but that he would copy from the originals in London rather than take them from Albany, and that *he* would examine many more not seen by Brodhead among the New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Canadian papers. Ben Perley Poore, later known as the Washington correspondent "Perley" of the *Boston Journal*, also collected foreign archival material at this time. Poore had gone in 1841 as an attaché to Belgium with the Minister, the Hon. H. W. Hilliard. He was so successful in searching the French archives in 1844 that the Massachusetts Governor appointed him in 1845 to continue officially in Paris. The result of his two years' work in ten folio volumes represents a valuable accession to the State House holdings.

Stevens gained good support from Jared Sparks, who assisted him in borrowing $400 and gave him letters of introduction. Sparks, who had made numerous friends during his visits to England in 1829 and 1841, had given similar letters to his fellow faculty member the poet Longfellow, when he visited England on a leave of absence a few years before. Stevens also had letters of introduction from Francis Parkman, who had been to Europe in 1843. Henry acknowledged his further indebtedness to him in a sentimental note penned a few moments before his death, intended as a dedication to his *Thomas Hariot* . . . (posthumously published at London in 1900):

> To Francis Parkman the Historian and Trustie Friend who forty years ago when we were young students of history together gave me a hand of his over the sea now give I him this right hand of mine with ever grateful tribute to our life-long friendship.

Henry Stevens sailed for England in July, 1845, confident of his ability to make a living in London. Through careful preparation and canny foresight, he assured himself a measure of success in an alien land. He had ambitiously created this main chance and he would just as energetically exploit it. In a remarkably short time he had educated himself in the complex business of

rare books relating to America. In two years he had acquired a knowledge of his subject and had begun to develop the necessary techniques for selling books. During this crucial time he fortunately received some ethical guidance from two fine men: his father and Peter Force. His noteworthy life among scholars and bibliophiles of the nineteenth century was to become an extension of the two critical years he had spent in training himself in the bookseller's trade.

Christopher Colles and His Two American Map Series

By Lloyd W. Griffin*

AMONG the more baffling enigmas in the history of American cartography are the two map series of Christopher Colles: *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (New York, 1789), and *The Geographical Ledger and Systematized Atlas* (New York, John Buel, 1794). There are some fifteen recorded copies of the first,[1] with varying numbers of plates; of the second only four fragments totaling five maps and four sections of indexes and references have as yet been located.[2] The exact published extent of either has not been ascertained. In recommending the purchase of the *Ledger* by the New York Public Library, Wilberforce Eames wrote in 1911, "It is not in any catalogue or bibliography, and I do not know of any other

* I am indebted for information and assistance to Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Peabody Institute Library; Mrs. Clara Egli LeGear and Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Library of Congress; Mr. Gerald D. McDonald, New York Public Library; Miss Dorothy C. Barck, New-York Historical Society; Mrs. Gertrude D. Hess, American Philosophical Society Library; Mr. Harry J. Carman, Columbia University; Mr. Henry L. de Forest, New York City; Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, American Antiquarian Society; Miss Gertrude Colles, Morristown, New Jersey; and Mr. Henry R. Friis, National Archives and Record Service.

[1] American Antiquarian Society Library; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; John Carter Brown Library; Library Company of Philadelphia, and a second copy at its Ridgway Branch; William L. Clements Library; Chapin Library; Yale University Library; Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Huntington Library; New York Public Library; New-York Historical Society; American Philosophical Society Library; and two copies at the Library of Congress.

[2] The Library of Congress has maps 1369, 1458, 1459, 1548, and 1649; the New York Public Library, Ledgers 1458, 1459, 1548, 1549, the introductory letterpress with diagram, and the eight reissued road maps 40-47 from the *Survey*; the American Philosophical Society Library, introductory letterpress with diagram, Ledger 1548, references only to 1458, and road maps 40-47; and Mr. Alexander Davidson, Jr., introductory letterpress with diagram, Ledger 1549, and road maps 40-47.

copy."[3] Aside from the appearance of several additional fragmentary copies, little more has been discovered about either series in the last forty years.

Christopher Colles was not primarily a map maker; nor, for that matter, did he specialize in any one circumscribed field. A listing of his endeavors proves him one of the most universal jacks-of-all-trades in the whole realm of science in America.

He was born in Dublin in 1739,[4] and attended a school near Kilkenny established and at that time supervised by Dr. Richard Pococke, a traveler in the Near East and later Bishop of Ossory. Pococke stimulated Colles' interest in physical investigation, and the boy gained considerable proficiency in mathematics, mineralogy, climatology, and geographical science. Through the influence of his uncle, William Colles, and that of his patron, Dr. Pococke, he obtained valuable experience in canal construction and inland navigation. The years did not prosper him, however, and the death of both his benefactors and the needs of a growing family prompted him to consider making his fortune in America. Consequently Colles, his wife, and four children sailed from Cork for Philadelphia in 1771.

In the following year he delivered a series of lectures on pneumatics in Philadelphia, and in 1773 gave another course on inland lock navigation in New York, where he made his home. His proposal of a reservoir for New York was made in 1774. Under his direction a pumping station was built, and a beginning made at laying a series of water mains—bored pine logs—along the city streets. The advent of the Revolution, however, forced abandonment of the plan. In 1775 he lectured on

[3] Mr. Eames' note is filed with the New York Public Library's copy (Reserve Division).

[4] *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography* gives the year of Colles' birth as 1738; the *Dictionary of American Biography* states that he was "probably" born then. A more recent article by Dr. Christopher J. Colles, "Ancestry of Christopher Colles in Ireland," in *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, XXIX (1931), 69, offers the definite date May 9, 1739, based undoubtedly on family records.

gunnery, and was instructor of artillery to the Continental Army until the arrival of Von Steuben in 1777.

Colles first proposed a system of canals and improvements to connect Lake Erie and the Hudson, ideas which afterward resulted in the Erie Canal. By 1783 he had approached George Washington about a scheme to remove obstructions in the Ohio River and so secure open navigation to the Mississippi. In stressing the impracticability of the plan, Washington gave him a piece of advice which would probably have improved his financial status and which might have prevented his acquiring a reputation as a miniature Count Rumford: "It appears to me that this is too early a day for accomplishing such great undertakings; and that it would be more advisable to turn your attention and abilities to works of more facility in the performance and of more immediate public utility. . . ."[5]

The mere enumeration of Colles' noncartographic activities astounds one. He manufactured bandboxes, paper hangings, rat and mouse traps, Prussian blue and other colors, and fireworks; practiced and taught surveying; tutored in hydraulics; lectured on any and all scientific subjects; made astronomical calculations for almanacs; tested the specific gravity of imported liquors for the Government; collected, arranged, and sold furs, Indian vases, and tomahawks obtained during his travels in Mohawk country; and constructed what is said to be the first semaphoric telegraph in America and the first steam engine—though the latter was not a success.

Friend or acquaintance of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Trumbull, Jarvis the artist,[6] Clinton, and Verplanck, Colles was described in later life as a "little, weather-beaten old man, small in stature, and attenuated in frame, of weight of some one hun-

[5] *Writings*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), XXVI, 65.

[6] John Wesley Jarvis' portrait of Colles is now in the collection of the New-York Historical Society. A reproduction appears in *The Magazine of American History*, II (1878), facing p. 344.

dred and ten pounds avoirdupois, who existed by his telegraph on the Government-House at the Bowling-Green, and his telescope in the Park."[7] Continually in financial straits, he affirmed that he had been born under a disastrous star, and that if he had been brought up a hatter, people would have come into the world without heads. Subsistence was finally assured Colles through the intervention of his friend John Pintard, who in 1816 obtained for him the position of doorkeeper and superintendent at the American Academy of Fine Arts. Unfortunately, Colles died before he could undertake his new duties.

Christopher Colles' interest in map making probably originated with a project he had begun in Ireland in 1769. On August 7 of that year he issued his "Proposals for publishing by subscription an accurate plan of the City and Suburbs of Limerick. . . . By Christopher Colles, Director of Inland Navigation of the Shannon." No record of the success of the publication remains; however, a reproduction of the map may be found in Ferrar's *History of Limerick*.[8] This interest in cartography was undoubtedly revived and stimulated by his duties as a surveyor and instructor of surveying in America, and later by his invention of a perambulator, a device for determining the exact number of revolutions made by a given wheel, which made precise mensuration easier and more rapid than the conventional measurement by surveyor's chain. At any rate, by 1789 he had issued his *Proposals for Publishing a Survey of the Roads of the United States*.

The new work was to be engraved on copper, each page to contain twelve miles of road on a scale of an inch and three-quarters to the mile. It was to detail all crossroads, streams, "the names of the most noted inhabitants of the houses contiguous to or in view of the road; the churches and other public build-

[7] John W. Francis, "Reminiscences of Christopher Colles," in *Knickerbocker Gallery* (New York, S. Hueston, 1855), p. 197.

[8] John Ferrar, *The History of Limerick, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military, from the Earliest Records, to the Year 1787* (Limerick, A. Watson, 1787), facing p. 1.

ings, the taverns, blacksmiths' shops, mills, and every object which occurs to render it a useful and entertaining work. . . ." A set of general maps was also projected as an index, with references to the pages containing specific stretches of road.

The *Survey* was to be sold by subscription, each subscriber paying an initial twenty-five cents, and twelve and a half cents upon delivery of every six pages of the work. Those advancing a dollar were to be considered patrons and to be relieved of further charge until they had received their dollar's worth of maps.

Subscribers were to pay twenty cents for each general map and three cents for explanatory letterpress. Furthermore, each was to engage to take one hundred pages. Nonsubscribers were to be charged three cents for each page of the work.

Colles appended to his list of conditions an "Account of the Advantages of These Surveys," which has a certain whimsical, though surely unintentional charm revealing the native optimism of the man:

> A traveller will find here so plain and circumstantial a description of the road, that whilst he has the draft with him it will be impossible for him to miss his way: he will have the satisfaction of knowing the names of many of the persons who reside on the road; if his horse should want a shoe, or his carriage be broke, he will by the bare inspection of the draft be able to determine whether he must go backward or forward to a blacksmith's shop: Persons who have houses or plantations on the road may in case they want to let, lease, or sell the same, advertise in the public newspapers that the place is marked in such a page of Colles's Survey of the roads; this will give so particular a description of its situation that no difficulty or doubt will remain about it. If a foreigner arrives in any part of the Continent and is under the necessity to travel by land, he applies to a bookseller, who with the assistance of the index map chooses out the particular pages which are necessary for his direction. It is expected many other entertaining and useful purposes will be discovered when these surveys come into general use.[9]

[9] Colles' *Proposals*, together with a complete listing of the maps in the *Survey*, are contained in Philip Lee Phillips' *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress, with Bibliographical Notes. Volume I. Atlases* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 730-732.

Close on the heels of the *Proposals* the work itself began to appear, each portion in a blue paper wrapper with a pasted title-slip, "Colles Survey of the Roads." The engraved title page is signed "C.[ornelius] Tiebout, Sculp^{t}." This and the unsigned maps are probably examples of Tiebout's earliest engraving, done while he was an apprentice in New York. Stauffer's check-list of Tiebout's engravings makes no mention of the *Survey*.[10]

The extant maps are numbered 1 to 33 and 40 to 86, maps 45, 46, and 47 being numbered in duplicate. Maps 34 through 39 were probably never issued, as the set is complete without them. Church conjectures that these numbers were reserved for a map of the roads from Newburgh to New York, along the west bank of the Hudson.[11] Roads are detailed as far north as Albany and as far south as Hooee's Ferry, near Williamsburg, Virginia, with the greatest concentration delineating the web of highways leading out of New York, and the secondary hubs at Philadelphia and Annapolis.

In his later issue of the *Proposals*, Colles stresses the point that these surveys are the result of actual mensuration made with his perambulator, attached to a survey carriage. While he had undoubtedly accomplished considerable personal measurement of areas of New York and New Jersey, it is doubtful that the southern portions of the route are the result of his own calculations. His precarious financial status would have made extensive travel impracticable if not impossible. Much of his data seems to have been obtained from the road surveys of Robert Erskine and Simeon DeWitt, military geographers and successive surveyors-general, made for the Continental Army at the order of Washington.

Because the initial expenses of engraving and printing were

[10] David M. Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel* (New York, The Grolier Club of the City of New York, 1907), II, 520-533.

[11] *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church* (New York, Dodd, Mead [Cambridge, University Press], 1907), V, 2407.

relatively high, the publication of maps by subscription had been a common method of procedure in the colonies as well as in Europe. Lewis Evans advertised for subscribers in 1749 for his map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the three lower counties "on Delaware," as did William DeBrahm in 1753 for his map of South Carolina and Georgia, and George Gouldsmith Presbury in 1774 for his map of Baltimore and Harford counties, in Maryland.[12]

How successful Colles' own subscription campaign was can only be conjectured. The Church copy of the *Proposals* has this note appended in ink: "Subscription papers will be sent to most of the Booksellers of the Continent." Lane's inventory of Washington's library indicates that the President owned a copy of the *Survey* "with a large number of plates."[13]

The *Survey of the Roads* was not successful enough, however, to relieve Colles' ever-pressing need for money. Early in 1790 he memorialized the Legislature of New York to subsidize a further survey of roads by means of his perambulator, but was advised to seek the support of Congress.[14]

Accordingly, on March 30, 1790, the petition of Christopher Colles praying to be employed by Congress in a survey and publication of the roads of the United States was read and ordered referred to the Postmaster-General, who was to examine the proposal and report his opinion to the House of Representatives.[15] On April 27 the Postmaster-General's favorable report

[12] Alfred C. Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina*, (1721-1785) (Topsfield, Mass., Walpole Society, 1929), 1st ser., pp. 35-36.

[13] William C. Lane, "Inventory of Washington's Library," in A. P. C. Griffin's *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum* ([Boston], The Boston Athenæum, 1897), p. 505, item 399, headed "Caller's [*sic*] Survey of Roads." The Athenæum portion of the Washington library does not contain Colles' *Survey*.

[14] John A. Stevens, "Christopher Colles, the First Projector of Inland Navigation in America," in *The Magazine of American History*, II (1878), 346.

[15] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, being the first session of the First Congress, begun and held in the City of New York, March 4, 1789* (Washington, Gales & Seaton, 1826), I, 185.

was communicated to the House. It read in part:

> The General Post Office is subject to many inconveniences for the want of a survey and map of the roads of the United States. The obtaining the same will be of great public as well as private utility. The objections that may be made against the plan of the memorialist will naturally arise from a supposed inaccuracy in the execution—the measurement of the roads by a perambulator not being so much to be relied on as by a chain; and that the extensiveness of the work will exceed the ability of the memorialist.
>
> From the experiments that have been made by the memorialist, the measurement appears to be sufficiently accurate for the establishing of distances on the post roads: as, in a distance of ten miles, there was only a variation of ten feet, and in ninety miles an exact agreement with the measurement made by a chain. When the roads are very uneven and broken, the perambulator will make the distance greater, in proportion to the unevenness of the surface, than it would be by measuring with a chain. The experiments, however, that have been made, were upon roads that were as uneven as the roads are, in a general view, in the United States. The ability of the memorialist to execute the work within a reasonable time is evident from what he has already executed; and as it is the principal, if not the only dependence he has for the support of himself and his family, there is no doubt but he will be as industrious as his slender means will admit.[16]

Colles requested monetary assistance at the rate of an eighth of a dollar per mile. The route to be surveyed—some three thousand miles—would have brought him about three hundred and seventy-five dollars.

The last recorded evidence concerning the project is an item in the House *Journal* for May 31. Colles' petition was ordered "referred to the committee, to whom was re-committed the bill for regulating the Post Office of the United States, with instructions to insert a clause or clauses pursuant to the said report."[17] If the petition had been approved and acted upon, the survey

[16] *American State Papers*, edited by Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin. (Documents Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, Post Office Department [Washington, Gales & Seaton, 1834], p. 8, no. 2.)

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

would have become an official government publication. No trace of such a work exists. Apparently Colles had little more success than Simeon DeWitt, whose maps showing the course of the war were refused publication because the state of public finances forbade it.

The *Survey of the Roads of the United States*—America's first *Blue Book*—exists, then, in at least fifteen recorded copies, the most complete of them in 83 maps. When the series suspended publication is not known; whether additional maps were engraved but have since been lost is unknown as well.

The data concerning Christopher Colles' second cartographic publication are even more meager. There are no entries for *The Geographical Ledger and Systematized Atlas* in Phillips' *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*, in Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana*, or in the Church catalogue. The entry in Evans' *American Bibliography*, Item 26781, is from the copyright registration alone.

One thing is certain: the *Ledger* was a natural outgrowth of the *Survey of the Roads*. In his "Prospectus" preceding the latter publication, Colles had envisioned large index maps and "alphabetical lists or other necessary explanation of the drafts" in letterpress; however, neither of these had materialized.

The new work, printed by John Buel, publisher of the *Columbian Gazetteer*, was registered for copyright in the twentieth New York district on June 7, 1794. Its title page reads:

The | Geographical Ledger | and | Systematized Atlas; | being | an united collection of Topograpaical [*sic*] Maps, projected | by one universal principle, and laid down by one | scale, proposed to be extended to different | countries as materials can be procured. | By Christopher Colles, of New-York. | Containing | I. Alphabetical references for pointing out the situation of lakes, islands, | shoals, mills, mines, churches, iron-works, forts, bridges, fords, ferries, | country seats, extensive tracts of land, and

other remarkable objects. | II. An alphabetical index, refering [*sic*] to the different parts of the map, | whereby any city, town, river, creek, island, lake, &c. can be speedily | found by inspecting a very small space, without the pains of searching | over the whole map. | III. An actual survey of a number of roads, specifying the true situation | of every river, creek, church, mill, bridge, ford, ferry and tavern | thereon, and their distances in miles, exactly engraved upon copper | [single rule] | New-York—Printed by John Buel, No. 24, Little Q. Street. | —1794—

One may observe that all of Colles' ideas for the *Survey* had been carried over to the *Ledger*. Furthermore, Item III indicates that sections at least of the *Survey* itself were to be incorporated in his new publication. These portions, which are assumed to be restrikes from the original plates, are identical in format with the other octavo portions of the *Ledger*. In the copy of the latter examined, the sewing and the blue-gray wrappers are the same. That the maps are not the original ones of the *Survey* merely bound up with the "Indexes" and "References" of the *Ledger* is shown by the heavier inking of the reissues and by the differing watermarks of the paper. More conclusive proof that a new edition of certain of the *Survey* maps was to be an integral part of the *Ledger* lies in the use of the same paper for the octavo maps and the folding plate illustrating the introduction to the *Ledger*. As far as is known, no prospectus for the new work was issued, unless the entire extant portion of the *Ledger* was a trial issue.

Rejecting the Mercator and stereographic projections as distorted and disproportionate, Colles proceeds in his "Introduction" to outline the original plan which he has adopted for his large maps. The torrid zone is to be projected as a cylinder, the temperate zones as cones, and the frigid zones as circular planes. As large maps are "unwieldy" to handle, apt to be "speedily discoloured with smoke or flies, and if rolled up (especially if not lined with Linnen) . . . quickly torn to pieces," he offers his maps to the public in separate sheets, each containing two de-

grees of latitude and four of longitude. Each 14½ by 20½ inch sheet has a grid of one half degree, each meridian—reckoned from Philadelphia, not Greenwich—designated by a capital letter at the top of the sheet and each parallel by a lower-case letter at the left-hand side. The scale is ten miles to the inch. Because none of the maps has a cartouche or title, Colles explains, "the expence of engraving is proportionably diminished." At the top are three scales giving the "Longitude from Paris, London, Philadelphia"; the statement "Miles 69½ to a Degree"; and in the upper left corner a row of three four-digit numbers, the first pertaining to the adjoining map above, the second to the sheet itself, and the third to the adjoining sheet below. At the left side of the map is a scale giving the "Greatest length of Days and nights."

Each rectangle of the grid contains a number of references in lower-case letters to lakes, ironworks, mills, country seats, tracts of land for sale, and other similar information. In this manner Colles has reproduced on his own sheets the data comprised in Holland's map of New Hampshire[18] and Sauthier's map of New York State.[19]

Colles intended that two letterpress sections should accompany each map sheet: an alphabetical index to the creeks, rivers, points, towns, taverns, ferries, falls, mountains, furnaces, and the like, with their coördinates; and a list of reference points within each grid arranged alphabetically according to the inter-

[18] Probably *A Topographical map of the Province of New Hampshire, surveyed agreeably to the orders and instructions of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; unto Samuel Holland Esqr. His Majesty's Surveyor General of Lands for the Northern District of North America; by the following Gentlemen, his deputies, Mr. Thomas Wright, Mr. George Sproule, Mr. James Grant, Mr. Thomas Wheeler & Mr. Charles Blaskowitz* (London, Printed for William Faden, Geographer to the King, March 1st, 1784). A reduced facsimile of the map is to be found in the New Hampshire Geological Survey's *Atlas Accompanying the Report on the Geology of New Hampshire* (Concord, N. H., 1878), map no. 1.

[19] Claude Joseph Sauthier, *A Map of the Province of New York* (London, Engraved by W. Faden, 1776).

section of the meridian and parallel, as Am, An, Ao, Ap, Aq, Bi, Bk, and so on.

Of the map sheets, only 1369, 1458, 1459, 1548, and 1549 have been located. These cover a rectangle, with the upper left-hand sixth missing, extending from 40° N. to 46° N. and from about 70° 15′ W. to about 78° 15′ W. The area is roughly from the eastern half of Lake Ontario in the northwest, to "Lake Amaguntaeg" (probably Lake Megantic in lower Quebec) in the northeast; down the Atlantic coastline from Maine to a point west of central New Jersey; and west again to Fort Littleton, Pennsylvania. No index or list of references exists for Sheet 1369.

The Geographical Ledger, however, was not to be a mere delineation of the United States. In his usual sanguine style, Colles observes: "As a great number of foreigners are continually arriving in this country, it appeared feasible to me, that the maps of some parts of Europe, Asia, or Africa, might meet with purchasers[.] I therefore thought it advisable to form the design universal."[20]

The folding plate illustrating the "Introduction" is signed "Eliza. Colles, Sculp," as are Sheets 1549 and 1369. What relation she was to Colles is unknown. The only identifiable "Eliza." in America is Colles' daughter Elizabeth, who died in 1779.

It is most probable that *The Geographical Ledger and Systematized Atlas* was never continued beyond the point where existing copies break off. Colles' chronic poverty would have precluded his supplying the capital necessary to continue the series. Moreover, his choice of John Buel as printer and publisher was unfortunate. Buel started a newspaper at the beginning of 1793 which appears to have collapsed after three issues. For six years afterward he had six or eight different addresses. In August, 1793, he began a second paper, *The Columbian Gazetteer,* which he sold to Levi Wayland following the issue of November 13,

[20] See the "Introduction," p. viii.

1794. At that time Buel apparently changed his address and gave up his firm name, "John Buel and Co." His affairs may very possibly have been in such a critical state that he found it impossible to continue the serial publication of *The Geographical Ledger*. Curiously enough, no advertisement for the *Ledger* has been found in the *Columbian Gazetteer*, nor a notice of its suspension in the *Gazetteer*'s successor, Wayland's *New-York Evening Post*.

The second and last of Christopher Colles' American mapping projects, then, seemingly came to a more ignominious end than the first. Judging from the extant fragments, the *Ledger* had a very limited circulation and realized at the most a very small profit for its author.

But the value of Colles' work as a cartographer is not to be measured by the contemporary success or failure of his *Survey of the Roads* and his *Geographical Ledger*. Though he was termed by acquaintances a visionary, he had only the misfortune of being at least a generation or two in advance of his time. He was attempting to force a thoughtful and systematic plan for mapping a new nation on a public which was unwilling—and perhaps unable—to sustain it. The remnants of his two bold schemes preserve for later generations a view of a part of America as it was at the end of the eighteenth century. Their significance as primary source materials of historical geography and of American cartography cannot be disputed.

Bibliographical Notes

The Problem of the pre-1776 American Bible

The problem of the Bible printed in Boston before the separation from the mother country has haunted bibliographers for a century and more. Did Boston printers in the middle of the eighteenth century bring out such a Bible? If so, where can we find one if not more copies? If not, what do we really know about it all?

We find the earliest reference to it in print by Isaiah Thomas in his *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810, and 1874) where on page 305 of the first volume of the first edition and pages 107-108 of the first volume of the second we read that

> Kneeland and Green printed, principally for Daniel Henchman, an edition of the Bible in small 4to. This was the first Bible printed, in the English language, in America. It was carried through the press as privately as possible, and had the London imprint of the copy from which it was reprinted, viz: "London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," in order to prevent a prosecution from those, in England and Scotland, who published the Bible by a patent from the crown; or, *Cum privilegio*, as did the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. When I was an apprentice, I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact. The late governor Hancock was related to Henchman, and knew the particulars of the transaction. He possessed a copy of this impression. As it has a London imprint, at this day it can be distinguished from an English edition, of the same date, only by those who are acquainted with the niceties of typography. This Bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired. The edition was not large; I have been informed that it did not exceed seven or eight hundred copies.

So wrote Thomas in 1810, and so did it stand with little comment or more than passing interest for almost half a century. In 1852 George Bancroft saw the fifth volume of his *History of the United States* come from the press, and then the readers found in this volume of the first edition on page 266 the following paragraph:

> Where was there a house in the colonies that did not cherish, and did not possess the English Bible? And yet to print that Bible in British America was prohibited as a piracy; and the Bible, except in the native savage dialects, was never printed there till the land became free.

His footnote gives "Thomas's 'History of Printing' " as authority, and goes on to say

> My friends, Mr. James Lenox and Mr. J. G. Cogswell, agree with me that no trace of an American edition of the Bible, surreptitious or otherwise, previous to the Declaration of Independence has been found.

In the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of January 18, 1853, G.L. (George Livermore, without doubt) pays his compliments to Bancroft and takes several thousand words to support his own conviction that "Mr. Bancroft's whole account of the matter is at variance with historical truth; each sentence contains an error; and the authority which he cites contradicts his assertions in every particular. An examination of the specific statements will show this to be so." He charges Bancroft with having failed to read, or at least to understand what Thomas said, but he is quite content to accept Thomas with no supporting evidence, and to pay no attention to the Lenox-Cogswell statement that "no trace of an American edition" before 1776 had been found. If Bancroft had used "copy" instead of "trace" I wonder what Livermore would have said. If Livermore knew of a copy why did he not say where it was to be seen? He seems to accept with no questioning that Thomas is right in saying that John Hancock "possessed" one. What happened to the Hancock copy? Do we hear anything more about it?

Quiet for another long stretch, and then on Monday, January 28, 1895, George L. Sullivan tells us in the Boston *Daily Globe* that Mr. John Anderson, Jr., of New York City owns a Bible with imprint of Mark Baskett, London, 1761; and that Mr. Anderson believes it was printed at Boston in 1761 by Samuel Kneeland and published with the forged imprint. This copy bore the signature of Philip Livingston and had a family record beginning in 1767. The same article was carried by the *New York Sun* of the same date.

Up to this time the story stands as Thomas wrote it: Kneeland and Green in Boston printing for Daniel Henchman a small quarto Bible with imprint of "London; Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty . . . issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired," which must mean 1752,

the year when Green went to England and broke up the partnership with Kneeland.

The Sullivan story of 1895 gives place and date of imprint as London, 1761, too late to fit the 1752 date of Thomas. Wait seven years, and then we hear of a 1752 imprint that certainly must now be the long-lost first Bible in English to be printed on this side of the water.

On Monday afternoon, May 18, 1902, part VI of the library of the late Thomas Jefferson McKee was being sold at auction in New York City by Mr. John Anderson, Jr., lot 4714 being thus described:

Bible. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments: Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues: And with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, By His Majesty's Special Command. Appointed to be read in Churches. London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of Robert Baskett. M.DCC.LII (1752).

4to, in the original sheep binding.

The only known copy of the original issue of the first Bible ever printed in America in the English language, and the Foundation Stone for all collections of American Bibles. The reasons for making so strong a statement as the above can, here, be briefly summarized.

Isaiah Thomas, in his "History of Printing in America," states that Kneeland & Green, Boston Printers, issued from their press for Daniel Henchman and other booksellers, a small quarto Bible, and that he was informed of this by those who had assisted in the printing. He gives the date as "about the time that the partnership of Kneeland & Green expired," which was 1752, and quotes the imprint, which corresponds with that of the copy here described. He states that it was carried through the press as privately as possible, and bore the London imprint so as "to prevent a prosecution from those in England and Scotland who published the Bible by a patent from the crown, or *cum privilegio*, as did the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

The only error made by Mr. Thomas is unfortunately the one that is doubtless responsible for the adverse position taken on the question of the authenticity of this edition by Mr. George Bancroft, and those who have unthinkingly followed his lead. Mr. Thomas stated, "It has the London imprint of the copy from which it was reprinted." This is both incorrect and impossible. The fact is, that while a London imprint was copied, it was an unauthorized one that had never appeared on any bona-fide English edition, and could not, save by Royal Permission. The authorized imprint was: "Oxford: Printed by Thomas Baskett, Printer to the University, 1752."

It is evident that when the Boston printers put forth this Bible they dared not copy the authorized imprint, as the piracy would be apparent and the con-

sequences disastrous, and so selected the, almost identical, name of Mark Baskett, a London printer of established repute, as a cloak for their designs. As to Mr. Bancroft's standing in this controversy, it might be sufficient to refer all interested parties to Mr. George Livermore's "On the inaccuracies of Mr. George Bancroft," but we will look to the facts.

Mr. Bancroft's one essential argument against the Mark Baskett Bible was that no copy had ever been discovered. He claimed that 700 or 800 copies were not likely to have entirely disappeared, and added that "the most complete catalogues of English Bibles enumerate not one with the imprint which was said to have been copied." He ends: "Till a copy of the pretended American edition is produced, no credit can be given to the second-hand story."

To one who has the sense of humor well developed, and can imagine Mr. Bancroft poring over foreign catalogues with the expectation of finding something which never existed, this can be nothing else than amusing. Probably while he was on his earnest search for the mythical English edition of the Bible with the Mark Baskett imprint, a dozen copies bearing the authentic imprint of Thomas Baskett passed through his hands, or met his eye.

Accompanying this Bible is one of the same date, bearing the Thomas Baskett imprint, and a close examination will show how faithfully it was copied. It is identical, save in the type and ornaments employed, and the selection of marginal references.

The key-note of all adverse comment on the definite and unqualified statement of that most eminent authority on American printing, Isaiah Thomas (and it has been touched upon by nearly every Biblical Bibliographer of account), has been, that no copy has ever turned up. It is now produced.

A magnificent authentic specimen of the real Mark Baskett's printing is also offered for comparison.

Three years later, in 1905, Charles Evans reached the year 1752 in Volume III of his *American Bibliography;* entered this Bible, and warned his reader as to what he thought about the volume. He quotes Thomas, gives the comments of Bancroft and Livermore, and then takes up the McKee copy, saying:

This copy was purchased from George P. Philes, a bibliographer and antiquarian dealer of note in New York, a good many years ago by Mr. McKee, and its possession has been a secret known only to its owner until this sale. The volume lacks the New Testament title—in itself a serious omission in support of its claim. Whatever critical examination of this singular issue may disclose, it can be authoritatively stated that the name of Mark Baskett does not appear upon any edition of the Bible printed in England before the year 1761, when it first appears, with differences from the imprint given above, which should be noted, as: "Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most excellent Maj-

esty, and the Assigns of R. Baskett," London, 1761. If the believers in the story told by Isaiah Thomas accept the only conclusion open to them, in view of this fact, that from a not unnatural confusion of dates when given from memory the publication was later than 1752, then the whole fabric of names and dates upon which the story is built disappears, and nothing tangible remains.

In dealing with this supposed American publication two courses seemed open to the author of this work. One to ignore the claim of the Bible of 1752 entirely, by omitting all reference to it, as have O'Callaghan, and Wright. The other to make a definite statement, that no credible evidence exists of the printing of the Bible, as a whole, or of the New Testament, in the English language, in the American Colonies before the year 1777. The historian's position is clearly correct. The dishonest transaction cannot be laid at our door. The supposed American printed Bible of 1752 is a myth.

In 1907 the *Catalogue of the more important Books, Autographs, and Manuscripts in the library of George C. Thomas* (Philadelphia) enters it on pages 44-46, reproducing the McKee catalogue note, except the first paragraph and the last three.

We next find it for sale in April, 1910, as lot 78½ in George H. Richmond's *Catalogue,* number 120, priced $2,500, with halftone reproduction of the title-page and reprint of the entire McKee sale note.

Three years later it appears in the *Catalogue of Rare and Important Books and Manuscripts in English Literature* of the Rosenbach Company, number 17, dated November, 1913. Here it is lot 56, priced $2,500, with the first four paragraphs of the McKee sale repeated. The same entry is lot 140 of *Catalogue of Americana* of the same firm, number 19, November, 1917.

In 1910 George Emery Littlefield had issued "Notes on the First Bible Printed in America in the English Language" (Boston, 30 typewritten pages, manifolded in four copies). Here this accomplished bookseller and bibliographer set forth in detail the history of British patents for the privilege of printing the Bible. He sums it all up at the end by saying (page 27):

> A careful comparison of the type, ornaments, initial letters, both pictorial and floriated, capitals, the paper and the watermarks of the "Mark Baskett" Bible with books printed by Kneeland and Green shows conclusively that Thomas was rightly informed, and that the "Mark Baskett" Bible of 1752 was printed by Kneeland and Green, whose printing house was in Prison lane, the corner of Dorset's alley, where now stands the handsome building of the Puritan Trust Company.
>
> In the printing of the Bible they were undoubtedly assisted by Rogers and Fowle, whose printing house was on the opposite side of Prison lane "below the

Prison, near the Townhouse." They had printed the New Testament surreptitiously and had frequently assisted Kneeland and Green in printing other books.

The three copies of the "Mark Baskett" Bible, however, do not bear the same date. Mr. McKee's copy, as has been stated, is dated 1752, on the title page of the Old Testament. The title page of the New Testament is missing, but an offset shows that it bore the same date. Mr. Anderson's copy bears the same date 1761, but lacks several leaves. Mr. Shillaber's copy has both title pages and the date on each is 1766.

A comparison of Mr. McKee's copy and Mr. Shillaber's copy shows that line for line, word for word, letter for letter, ornament for ornament, they are exactly alike. The pictorial capital letters are the same and the watermark of the paper is the same and frequently is found on the same leaves, for instance, the watermark on the last leaf of Revelations [*sic*] is the same in both copies.

These similarities show that only a portion of the edition was bound at first, and the remainder left in sheets until wanted. It shows that, like the Coverdale Bible and the Geneva Bible, it was easier to print than to sell, and that it took at least fourteen years to sell the edition; that as years passed by, in imitation of the printers of the Coverdale and Geneva Bible, a new title page to correspond with the advancing years was placed upon the remaining sheets, which were then bound and offered as new copies. Evidently Kneeland knew all the tricks of the trade.

Though no one can doubt the integrity, intellectual or commercial, of George Littlefield, no one can doubt that just as "evidently Kneeland knew all the tricks of the trade," so evidently George Littlefield had not paid any attention to what some of the rest of us believe are changes made in the imprint date of the McKee copy at some uncertain date after it left the press.

Nine years after Littlefield we hear from Dr. Charles L. Nichols in a paper, "Is There a Mark Baskett Bible of 1752?" read before the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (*Publications*, 21 [1919], 285-292). He shows how typographical errors in this 1752 Bible are found in the text printed at London by Mark Baskett in 1763, none of them in the 1761 or 1766 editions of Mark Baskett, and then goes on to say:

These typographical similarities between the 1752 and 1763 Bibles seem to be sufficient evidence that by some error the date of the McKee-Thomas Bible was misprinted or changed and should be 1763. In corroboration of this suggestion, it is to be noted that the date M.DCC.LXIII is not exactly centered, being about 1/16 of an inch too far to the left; and that in the alleged 1752 edition the date, though containing two figures less, begins at precisely

the same point and so is still more out of centre, being about ¼ of an inch too far to the left.

The watermarks in the paper used in both, indeed all, of the Mark Baskett Bibles seen, are identical, showing that the paper came from the same manufacturer. This, however, cannot be used as positive evidence of the identity in edition of the books because the same paper might have been imported by Kneeland & Green for this special work, although no such watermarks have been found in the books of this firm which have been examined.

If from this examination of the 1752 Bible and comparison with the editions of 1761, 1763, and 1766 it is proved, as it seems to be, that this Bible is not what it is supposed to be, then the inference is that it cannot be used as positive evidence of the truth of the story printed by Isaiah Thomas. Because of the removal of this evidence we can go one step further and show that the imprint could not have been "Mark Baskett."

Thomas wrote, "This Bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired" (which was the year 1752); and again, "As it has a London imprint, at this day, it can be distinguished from the English edition of the same date only by those who are acquainted with the niceties of typography." Mark Baskett printed Bibles in London from 1761 to 1769 and then sold the family patent to print Bibles to Charles Eyre, whose firm continues to print them at the present day. It is certain that Mark Baskett did not print Bibles in 1752 and it is improbable that the Boston printers would have used the name of a man who had not printed such books. It is also certain that if they had used the name of another printer in the Boston Bible, the officers of the Crown would have discovered the fact. Moreover, Thomas expressly states that the authorized and the unauthorized editions could only be distinguished from each other by one skilled in the niceties of typography, the change in name not requiring such skill. . . . Thomas was evidently ignorant of the fact that Thomas Baskett printed the Oxford and London Bibles from 1742 to 1761 and that Mark Baskett did not print them until the last date. This ignorance, however, while throwing doubt on the Boston imprint, does not militate against the fact that a Bible was printed there. It would seem therefore that the name of Mark Baskett should be eliminated from this question and that Thomas Baskett, the Bible printer of the period, whose death occurred in 1763 was the one whose name will be found in the imprint of the Kneeland & Green Bible.

Dr. Nichols reproduces in halftone the title page of Mark Baskett's London Bible of 1761; his London Bible of 1763; the title page of the 1752 Mark Baskett copy as found in the catalogue of George H. Richmond, 1910; and a plate showing three passages from Genesis, Exodus, and Matthew in the Mark Baskett volume of 1752.

Dr. Nichols spoke later about "The Boston Edition of the Baskett Bible" before the American Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*, n.s., 37, 24-42), concluding

1.

That Kneeland & Green did print a quarto Bible for the booksellers of Boston between 1750 and 1752.

2.

That whatever the exact date of issue, it was the same for the whole edition, which was small.

3.

That it resembled the quarto Bibles of 1747 and 1749 with the imprint of Thomas, not Mark, Baskett.

4.

That no Bible of Mark Baskett of London, printed between 1761 and 1769 could be part of the Boston edition.

5.

That of this small edition, there must be a considerable number still with families still keeping their family records, because such records are usually kept with particular care and handed down from one generation to the next; or, perhaps a few may have been given to non-private libraries for safe keeping. In the Paine and Chandler families we find examples of such steps. It is not impossible that careful study of these family Bibles may turn up the long lost copy of this edition which can then be accepted as our first Bible in the English language printed in the British colonies.

He there gives in facsimile the title-page of the Thomas Baskett Oxford Bible of 1749, the upper half of the beginning of Genesis in the Baskett Bibles of 1746 and 1749. As usual with any problem studied by Dr. Nichols we can but pay tribute to his thoroughness and honesty of convictions.

Mr. Wilberforce Eames once gave me a copy of a letter he had written to George Watson Cole about this problem of a Boston Bible printed before 1776, printed in spite of the King's Printer's patent. Such a combination as Eames and Cole is hard to find, no need to say. The letter brings out points made already, but it is so characteristic of the man, of his thoroughness, of his clearness and finality of expression that I think it worth the space it may take.

Finished May 21, Mailed
May 20, 1932
[*sic*]

My dear Dr. Cole:

In your letter you mentioned Isaiah Thomas's statement about a Bible hav-

ing been printed in Boston in 1752; also the Bible dated 1752 which was in the McKee sale in May 1902. I have looked up my notes, refreshed my recollection, and now will try to answer your request.

Mr. Thomas did not know the exact date of the Boston Bible, and he did not state that it was printed in 1752. It is of interest to read what is said about it in his manuscript notebooks at the American Antiquarian Society, containing lists of books printed at Boston and other towns before 1775. In one of these lists is an entry with incomplete date:

"*174– Bible, containing the Old and New Testament.*"

The same incomplete date and entry appear in a later and fuller list; and in a third and more extended list it read as follows:

"*1749 Bible containing Old and New Testament (this had a London imprint about 1749 or 1750.)*"

This information was obtained from the librarian, Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Feb. 11, 1931.

In his *History of Printing in America*, 1874 edition, Mr. Thomas says that "*not long before the time when this impression of the Bible came from the press,*" the firm of Rogers and Fowle printed secretly an edition of the New Testament, in which the London imprint was retained, and that Zechariah Fowle, "*with whom I served my apprenticeship,*" worked on the job as a press-man. As the partnership of this firm ended in the spring or summer of 1750, the Testament must have been printed before that year, probably in 1749, if not earlier.

In another place he says: "*This Bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired,*" the date of which is given in one of the preceding paragraphs as 1752. Here we have the limit of three years between two dates, 1749 and 1752, and also the statement that the time between the two printings was *not long*. It seems very probable the first undertaking suggested the larger one to Kneeland and Green, and that they did not wait until 1752, or three years after.

The earliest use I have found of the year 1752 as a certain date for the Bible is in O'Callaghan's *List of Bibles*, 1861, page xv, but it must go back at least ten years earlier to George Livermore, about 1850.

Mr. John Anderson, Jr., the New York bookseller, had been interested in the subject for a number of years, and in 1895 he announced that he had discovered and acquired the long lost *First American Bible*. It had the London imprint of Mark Baskett, MDCCLXI, and the autograph signature of Philip Livingston, the Signer. The account of the discovery was written by George L. Sullivan and printed in the *Boston Daily Globe* of Jan. 28, 1895, and in the New York *Sun* of the same date. In this article we are informed that "*it takes but a glance at the volume by one versed in the typographical art and possessing*

bibliographical knowledge to locate its origin. It is distinctively and delightfully American." Also that "*Whenever this work has been discussed it has been attributed to Kneeland and Green. . . . He* [Mr. Anderson] *has fixed the publication date as 1761. . . The date of the Bible has therefore . . . proved that it was printed by Samuel Kneeland, and not by Kneeland & Green.*" I will add to this interesting statement that a copy of the same "*delightfully American*" edition is also in the Lenox Collection, and another in the library of Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester.

The McKee Bible of 1752 was brought to my attention by Mr. Anderson in 1900 or 1901, nearly a year before the sale, and I saw it at the McKee house, and had it for several weeks at the Lenox Library, for comparison with the Baskett Bibles there. The examination resulted in the discovery that the Lenox copy of the Mark Baskett Bible of MDCCLXIII was identical with the McKee copy in every respect except in the latter part of the date line, which apparently had been altered in the McKee copy by erasing the III and changing the X to II. This alteration shortened the length of the date without allowing for its readjustment to the center of the line. The first part of the date was in the same position in both copies, while the latter part in the McKee copy was nearly a quarter of an inch too short.

I attempted to inform Mr. Anderson of these findings, but he did not like it, and fearing to give offence, I dropped the discussion.

Ten years later, or about 1912, Dr. Rosenbach brought the McKee Bible to me for an opinion about its authenticity, and I took up another angle of the problem, viz.: the chronology of the Baskett Bible editions, of Oxford and London. On that occasion I compiled a list of those in the Lenox collection, the British Museum, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a few elsewhere, altogether over one hundred titles. The list showed that this Mark Baskett's name did not appear, either in Oxford or London editions, before he succeeded his father Thomas Baskett in 1761, and that a Mark Baskett Bible of 1752 would have to be a modern fabrication.

In 1919 Dr. Charles L. Nichols contributed to the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* an article entitled "*Is there a Mark Baskett Bible of 1752?*" This study was based on the examination of many Baskett Bibles in England and America, and presented facsimiles to prove that no Mark Baskett Bible was printed until 1761. He also identified the McKee copy with the 1763 edition in the Harvard Library.

In January 1931, Mr. Lydenberg, while investigating the bibliographical and other activities of our great "American John Payne Collier," from whom the McKee Bible came, had an interview with Dr. Rosenbach, which resulted in the gift of this priceless treasure to the New York Public Library.

In 1910, George E. Littlefield of Boston prepared his *Notes on the First Bible Printed in America in the English Language,* four typewritten copies

prepared by the author. In these notes is a full account of the different patents for printing the Bible in England. Mr. Littlefield identified three Mark Baskett Bibles as genuine American editions:—(1) the McKee copy, 1752; (2) the John Anderson copy, 1761; and (3) the W. G. Shillaber copy, 1766. Mr. Littlefield states that "*it took at least fourteen years to sell the edition; that as years passed by, . . . a new titlepage to correspond with the advancing years was placed upon the remaining sheets, which were then bound and offered as new copies. Evidently Kneeland knew all the tricks of the trade.*"

In 1926 it was announced, in an article written by John Nicholas Myer, and printed in the New York Times of Nov. 7, that the Rev. Acton Griscom of New York had recently brought to light two editions of the Baskett Bible which "*have been finally authenticated as the genuine and complete first English Bible printed in the Western Hemisphere, . . . a story of considerable interest, not to say of romance. Mr. Griscom succeeded where so many others had failed. . . . These copies are both complete, one of them bearing the date of 1766 in both Old and New Testament titlepages, and the other bearing the date 1768 on the Old Testament and 1767 on the New.*" Farther on is the statement that "*One of the copies that the Rev. Mr. Griscom used, the 1768-7 copy, has titlepages of an issue heretofore undiscovered. The other, the 1766 copy, is represented by two complete copies and one imperfect copy at the New York Public Library and one in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.*"

The Griscom American printed Bible of 1768-67 here mentioned, looks to me like the last entry in my chronological list of Baskett Bibles, which reads:—

London: Mark and Robert Baskett, 1768-67. 4to. BM. BFBS.

The article goes on to explain that the "*first American Bible appears with a succession of differently dated title pages, in much the same way as appeared the first edition of Milton's Paradise Lost . . .* [and] *the Coverdale and Geneva Bibles.*" Also, that an examination of Dr. Nichols's article of 1919 seems to indicate that he was "*unconsciously misled, as were so many investigators before him, into thinking that the Bibles bearing the Baskett imprint in the . . . New York Public Library, . . . in Harvard, . . . and the American Antiquarian Society Libraries, represented the English Baskett imprint. When Dr. Nichols, in 1919, borrowed the McKee-Thomas copy from Dr. Rosenbach, for comparison with those of later dates in the above collections he did not realize that he was comparing one American copy with others, the only differences being a change of date of the title page and a few typographical errors which were corrected after the first sheets had gone through the press.*"

Two facsimile titles side by side accompany the article, both of the New Testament title, both with the London imprint of Mark Baskett, and both with the date MDCCLXVII. Above the facsimiles is the heading: "*The Real and the 'Bootleg' Bible.*" Below is the following:—"*The Typography of the words 'Original Greek' differs in the New Testament title pages. In the English*

Printing the words 'Most Excellent' are on one line; in the American Printing the word 'Most' is on one line and the word 'Excellent' is on the following line."

The latest word on the subject is Dr. Charles L. Nichols's paper in the Proceedings of the Am. Ant. Society for April, 1927, with title, "*The Boston Edition of the Baskett Bible.*" This paper gives reasons for believing that Kneeland and Green began the printing of a quarto Bible about 1750; that it was finished before 1752; that the different booksellers who were financing the undertaking all received their proportions at the same time; and that the Thomas Baskett edition of Oxford, 1747 or 1749, was most probably used. He remarks that "*The point it is desired to bring out is that "Thomas Baskett: Printer to the University, Oxford," must have been the imprint of the new edition, not "Mark Baskett: Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, London.*"

Wilberforce Eames

There is no need here to print the Eames list of Baskett Bibles, 1743-1767. One further Eames note may well be set down, however:

The earliest Bible in Darlow and Moule's catalogue which bears on its title page the name of John Baskett, is the London edition of 1712, 13 in 12mo, the imprint reading: John Baskett, and Assigns of Newcomb and Hills. This form is continued in the London editions which follow until 1725, when it became John Baskett and Assigns of Hills. In 1732, it was John Baskett alone; in 1744 Thomas and Robert Baskett; in 1747, Thomas Baskett and Assigns of Robert Baskett; and in 1761, Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, and the Assigns of Robert Baskett, which form was retained until 1769. In the Oxford editions "the Assigns of Newcomb and Hills, the Assigns of Hills, and the Assigns of Robert Baskett" are not included in any of the imprints.

In any bibliographical symphony or solo the final note sounded by Wilberforce Eames is completely fitting for both the auditors and the players privileged to take part with him.

Harry Miller Lydenberg

Corrections in Caxton's "Cordiale"

As some of the readers of our Papers may be aware, the present writer has upon a number of occasions pointed out the care which Aldus Manutius bestowed on the productions of his press. To ensure accuracy of text, the Venetian printer frequently resorted to stop-press corrections, even to manuscript emendations when the presses, having completed their

work, left him no alternative. That these same means of improving the character of his work were occasionally employed by England's first printer may not be so generally known. The edition of the *Cordiale* published by William Caxton at Westminster on 24 March 1479 well illustrates this practice. The readings of nine of the twelve known copies are available to me, viz., Bodleian, British Museum, Cambridge, Huntington, Morgan, Rosenwald (Library of Congress) and Rylands copies, as well as those in the private libraries of Mr. John Ehrman and Mr. Boies Penrose.

Turning first of all to manuscript emendation, an example of this form of correction is found on folio 61 verso [$h5^v$], where lines 11 and 12 (the last two on that page) read:

> partie of the foure last thingis | whiche be forto come
> And here beginneth the prologue vppon the fourth

Clearly, these two lines were reversed through some compositor's inattention. Since the same error occurs in every copy with whose readings I am acquainted, it is evident that Caxton did not discover this slip until after the printing had been finished. Yet every copy except the one in the Huntington Library has a manuscript letter "b" placed before line 11 and a similar "a" written in before line 12. This was the normal way in mediaeval times of indicating a desired inversion, and these means sufficed William Caxton to restore the lines to their correct order.

A single stop-press correction may be found in line 1 of folio 4 recto. Here the Morgan copy most clearly has "nieternum" where all the others read "ineternum." It is obvious that this misprint, set in Caxton's display type 3, quickly caught the printer's notice and he made the necessary correction in the course of the machining. A more important stop-press alteration may be observed at the bottom of folio 54 [g6]; here the Rosenwald copy reads:

> . . . Thies arowes ar the diuerse paines of hell || where as sinners shal be theñe tormented in many maners || [*verso*] Psawter seith. The arowes of the myghty. That is to || saye of our lorde be sharpe amonges the colis of desolacion ||

Manifestly something is wanting in the last line of the recto, and Caxton soon remedied the omission. In all the other copies the last line reads: "where as sinners shal be theñ tormēted in many man's. the || ." This restores the sense of the passage. At the same time the printer eliminated

an error of spacing in line 20; here the Rosenwald copy has "which ebe" where the others read "whiche be." Still other errors on the same page were not, however, corrected and all copies have "hyin" (for "him") in line 9 and the turned letter in "Aud" (line 19).

While we are discussing the *Cordiale*, one further detail may properly be noted here. Every copy except the Huntington Library one bears on folios 27 verso and/or 30 recto (the inner forme of sheet [d3-d6]) an offset from the outer forme [$d3^{r}$-$d6^{v}$]. Such offsets (or set-offs, as they are usually called on the other side of the Atlantic) are common enough in the work of the earliest printers and other books produced by Caxton exhibit this same phenomenon; see, for example, the case cited in my article "Caxton Studies" (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1940, pp. 169-176). These offsets occur when the wet sheets are piled one on top of the other, thus permitting the wet impression to "reprint" itself (in reverse, of course) on the facing leaf.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

A Note on the Publication of Johnson's "Proposals for Printing the Harleian Miscellany"

Advertisements in the *Daily Advertiser* and the *London Evening Post* contain several pieces of information about one of Johnson's early works[1] —the *Proposals for Printing the Harleian Miscellany*—which do not seem to have been noted before and which throw additional light on the bibliography of the piece. First of all, two announcements—one in each paper—appear to resolve the uncertainty about the publication date of the *Proposals*. In his *Samuel Johnson's Prefaces & Dedications*, Professor Allen T. Hazen, although he remarks that "It is possible that they were first announced in December" of 1743, says that the "Proposals were issued at the beginning of January 1744. . . ."[2] On the other hand, the Chapman-Hazen supplement to Courtney's bibliography of Johnson[3] indi-

[1] The two papers also contain (1) advertisements of Johnson's *Life of Savage* and (2) notices, "*To the Publick*," of the preparation of the *Dictionary;* I have in preparation a note on the first, and Professor James Sledd and I discuss the second in a forthcoming article on the booksellers' publicity for the *Dictionary*.

[2] (New Haven, 1937), p. 50, no. 1.

[3] (Oxford, 1915). Courtney himself does not mention the *Proposals*, but Professor Nichol Smith remarks that they "were . . . by Johnson" (p. 15). In his own bibliography of Johnson (*CBEL*, II, 617-618), Nichol Smith does not give the

cates the date thus: "[1743?]."[4] The latter is surely correct: the *Daily Advertiser* includes in the December 30, 1743, number an announcement (repeated in the December 31 issue) that "*This Day are publish'd;* PROPOSALS *for printing by* SUBSCRIPTION THE HARLEIAN MISCELLANY." And the same advertisement also appears in the December 31, 1743-January 3, 1744, number of the *London Evening Post.*

In the second place, another notice in the *Evening Post* contains a text of the *Proposals* which was apparently published at about the same time as the text in the separate folio edition reproduced by Hazen[5] and which differs in several respects from the folio text. I have placed all significant variations in the following list:

Text in *Samuel Johnson's Prefaces & Dedications*	Text in the *London Evening Post* of April 17-19, 1744
p. 50, ll. 3-4: Accidents	Accident
p. 51, l. 22: but was done	but what was done
p. 51, l. 47: produce, cannot but excite	produce, is such as if they could be conveniently publish'd, would excite
p. 52, l. 1: these	those

Moreover, although the *London Evening Post* text, like that in the folio issue, does not include the first of the two additional paragraphs of the *Proposals* found in Volume III of the *Harleian Catalogue* and in the *Gentleman's Magazine,*[6] it does include the second of the paragraphs. And the notice in the *Evening Post*[7] concludes with the following passage (proba-

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date of the *Proposals;* his entry is as follows: "[N.d.; 4°. Rptd (2 pp. 8°) at the end of GM. 1743, and (6 pp. 8°) at beginning of vol. III of Catalogus Harleianæ; also reissued (folio) with list of subscribers, undated. 'An Account of this Undertaking' (p. 2).]."

[4] *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings & Papers,* Vol. V, Part III (1939), 126.

[5] Hazen's text "is reproduced from a copy of the folio *Proposals* now owned by Professor Tinker" (p. 50); it "was printed in April or May, 1744" (*ibid.,* n. 1). This copy contains, among other things, "the *Contents of Numbers* I-IV" of the *Miscellany* (Chapman-Hazen supplement, p. 126); and since No. IV of the *Miscellany* was published on April 12-14, and No. V on April 24-26, 1744 *(London Evening Post),* the Tinker copy may have been printed sometime between these two dates.

[6] See n. 3 above; Hazen, pp. 50-52.

[7] It may also be worth mentioning that another notice provides corroborative evidence for the existence of two early editions of Johnson's introduction to the *Miscellany.* Discussing the publication of Volume I of the work, Hazen observes that "One advertisement (*Westminster Journal,* 29 December, 1744) announces

bly not by Johnson), which does not appear in any of the three other texts mentioned above: "N.B. The Second Sale of the HARLEIAN LIBRARY still continues to be sold at *T. Osborne*'s Shop in Gray's-Inn and will hold on 'till the Publick is advertis'd of its Conclusion. Any Gentleman or Lady may have the Use of the Catalogue for three Months, upon depositing of Ten Shillings; and upon Return of the Catalogue, the Money shall be return'd."

GWIN J. KOLB

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An Extra Issue of the "Spirit of the Times"

Several important American libraries and a number of the country's leading collectors are engaged in the difficult task of trying to get together sets, as complete as possible, of the New York *Spirit of the Times* of 1831-1861, best known as the "Old" *Spirit*. And several libraries, collectors, and editors are trying to locate and list the full series of issues, no matter how widely scattered over the country or how unavailable for purchase, with the intention of making the listing available to interested scholars.

It may be worth noting that a rare, and quite possibly unique, copy of an extra issue has lately come to light. Dated Tuesday, May 10, 1842, it reports the famous horse race run that day at New York between the northern champion, Fashion, and the southern champion, Boston. The extra is printed on one side of a single sheet the size of the regular *Spirit* page, and consists of the *Spirit*'s normal three columns. It is numbered "Vol. XII.—N°. 10," though that is the number of the regular weekly issue of Saturday, May 7, just preceding this extra one-page issue.

The extra has a properly breathless quality, opening with "We have this moment returned from witnessing the most thrilling and exciting race ever run in America" and closing with the remark that "We must lose the Mails if we write a word more, and therefore break off suddenly."

CARVEL COLLINS

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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that the first volume has been reprinted to satisfy the demand." "If this statement is reliable," he continues, "a systematic search may discover two early editions before that of 1753 and, presumably, two editions of Johnson's Preface" (p. 53). The *London Evening Post* for December 22-25, 1744, contains the same announcement as that which appears in the *Westminster Journal*.

Book Reviews

A Critical History of Children's Literature; a Survey of Children's Books in English from Earliest Times to the Present, Prepared in Four Parts Under the Editorship of Cornelia Meigs by Cornelia Meigs, Anne Eaton, Elizabeth Nesbitt, Ruth Hill Viguers. Decorations by Vera Bock. New York, The Macmillan Company, [c 1953]. xxiv, 624 pp. 9½ x 6 inches. $7.50.

When *A Critical History of Children's Literature* was first published in June, 1953, the reviews it received were more than favorable; in some cases they verged on the ecstatic. "Authentic, scholarly, beautifully written" (*Chicago Tribune*); "a superb job of synthesis and analysis" (Virginia Kirkus); "a book not only for the specialist but for the student of general literature . . . a piece of great integrity" (*Library Journal*); "obviously a valuable reference book for libraries, schools, and teacher-training institutions" (*Catholic World*).

But when an even moderately well-informed reader examines the book, and finds it full of misprints, misinformation, wrong dates, and brief and inadequate "bibliographies," just what is he to think?[1] The most charitable assumption is that the reviewers must have read the book in galley proof, and taken it for granted that the incorrect publication dates assigned to *Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, Alice in Wonderland,* Lear's *Book of Nonsense, Little Women, Tom Brown's School Days, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer,* and *Treasure Island*—to name only the most outstanding titles—would be corrected in the printed book. Unfortunately, they weren't. One reviewer did remark that Kipling's mother was not George Macdonald's daughter. This was an unlucky choice, since this particular error does not appear in the book.

But there are others. They start as early as p. ix, with a reference to "the Bennet [*sic*][2] of *Clayhanger.*" On p. xii, Georg Brandes is called "George"; on p. xiii, Henry Steele Commager refers to "Dr. Lofting"[2]

[1] This review is based on separate lists of errata made by Robert F. Metzdorf, Herbert Cahoon and the signer of the review. There were practically no duplications in the three lists.

[2] Corrected in the second printing. This may console small libraries and other owners of the first printing.

as a mythical character along with Winnie the Pooh (*sic*, no hyphens) and Mary Poppins. Boutet de Monvel appears as "de Monrel" on p. xix.[2] Pook is mysteriously printed Pōok on p. 6; Deirdre is spelled Dierdre on p. 16. On page 19, we are told that Percy's *Reliques* was published in 1795—but other reference books make it 1765. On p. 24 George Lyman Kittredge is spelled "Kittridge"; on p. 34, in the brief "Bibliography," Nellie Slayton Aurner is spelled "Auner." At this point the present reviewer discarded "scholarly" and "valuable reference book for libraries [etc.]." (Let us not forget the Duchess Margaret's library at "Binch" [*sic*], p. 31.)

On p. 43 he found "Magdelen [*sic*][2] College"; on p. 45, "Fox's [*sic*] *Book of Martyrs*," in the same line as Foxe, John. On p. 49 he was informed that "The first part of *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1676 [*sic*]; the second . . . in 1678 [*sic*]." The correct dates are 1678 and 1684, respectively. "They [Pope, Swift, and John Arbuthnot] filled their evenings with talk of the foolishness of the world, and amongst them they evolved the plan of a satire of ridicule, based on the blundering character of a certain Dr. Martin [*sic*] and his errors and enormities" (p. 55). This dreamy sentence seems to refer to Arbuthnot's *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus*, but the title is nowhere given in full. Houyhnhnms is spelled "Houynhms."[2] On the next page Brobdingnag is twice spelled Brobdingnab,[2] and the article concludes with a "Bibliography" of four titles, including one book on John Bunyan published fifty years ago. (No mention of Vera Brittain's *Valiant Pilgrim* [1950].) It is implied on p. 59 that *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) were published during the lifetime of John Locke (1632-1704). Reference is made to "Locke's precept": "the light of reason is the candle of the Lord." It may have been his precept, but it was not his invention. Jonathan Edwards is also called "perhaps the most orthodox [!] of all religious leaders." Pages 61 and 62 garble two quotations from *Boswell's London Journal*. On p. 67, there are five mistakes in two lines in transcribing the title of *The Lilliputian Magazine; or, The Young Gentlemen and Ladies' Golden Library*. On p. 74, John Aikin is spelled Aiken; so is his sister, Anna Letitia (Aikin) Barbauld. To anyone ever confronted with the *Poetical Works* of Anna Seward, edited by Sir Walter Scott, the statement on p. 84 that Miss Seward "wrote a little poetry" will seem a superb example of litotes. (Lockhart called them "a formidable monument of mediocrity." But Frederick Pottle has described Miss Seward as "a woman with a genius for inaccuracy."

Perhaps the editors felt that she was a kindred soul.)

Mrs. Sherwood's *Little Henry and his Bearer* was published in 1814, not 1815 (p. 86). The title of *The Lady and her Ayah* (1816) is incorrectly given as *The Ayah and the Lady* (p. 88). *Waverley* is misspelled *Waverly* on p. 105. In the "Bibliography" of six titles, Grace Oliver's long superseded *Study of Maria Edgeworth* (1882) is the only work on Miss Edgeworth to be cited.

"Caxton's successor" appears on p. 109 as "Wynken [*sic*] de Worde." (Wynkyn, Blynkyn, and Caxton.) On p. 114 the accent is misplaced[2] on Madame D'Aulnoy's *Contes des Fées,* and in two successive sentences the date of the English translation is given as 1717 and "about 1717." (It was 1707.) Madame de Genlis (pp. 116-117) is sometimes that, again plain Genlis. "*Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes in Either England* . . . was imported from England, published in 1646 [*sic*]" (p. 120). It was published in 1656, and the English edition (1646) had the title *Milk for Babes.* "[Bunyan and Foxe] seem to have been published in Massachusetts in their own right at about the same time, 1641 [*sic*]" (p. 121)—in other words, when Bunyan was a boy of thirteen. "Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was required reading here"; but it must have been in imported editions. "We see him [Benjamin Harris] presently with a shop, 'The Sign of the Bible over against the Blew Anchor.' From this place was issued, some time between 1687 and 1690 . . . the *New England Primer.*" Regrettable to state, the shop was established in 1694. On p. 123, Tyndale is spelled Tyndal. "In a *Primer* of 1781 we see the first [*sic*] inclusion of 'Now I lay me down to sleep' " (p. 124). It appears in two editions published in 1750. On the same page, Howley is spelled Hawley, and Clap, Clapp. The most recent authority cited is Paul Leicester Ford's *The New England Primer* (1897).

Chapter 12, "Printer's Ink," and we are informed that "Isaiah Thomas wrote no books with his own hand." Possibly, but not probably, he *dictated* the two volumes of *The History of Printing in America* (1810). Hugh Gaine (p. 132) "in the same year (1775 [*sic*]) . . . introduced to America *The Wonderful Life and Surprising Confessions* [*sic*] *of the renouned Hero Robinson Crusoe.*" The book was published in America in 1774, and the correct title is *The Wonderful Life and Surprizing Adventures of the Renowned Hero, Robinson Crusoe.* "[Thomas Fleet's] publication in 1719 of *Songs for the Nursery*" (p. 133): some doubt that it was ever published; see DAB. Natty Bumppo is twice spelled Bumpo[2] (p. 138). In the "Bibliography" (p. 140) Clifford K. Shipton is Clifford

"E.";[2] Lawrance R. Thompson (of Princeton, not Lawrence S. Thompson of Kentucky) is "Laurence"; and the Bibliographical Society of America is the Bibliographic [*sic*][2] Society of America.

Samuel Goodrich now appears; he who "called himself before the world Peter Parley" (p. 141) and "by 1850 . . . had become the author of a hundred and seventy volumes (small ones)" (p. 144). But Peter Parley was an eponym, rather than a pseudonym; a number of Goodrich's hacks, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, used the name. "Travel in Europe . . . was simpler idealogically [*sic*] than it is today" (p. 150). *Some Excellent Verses for the Education of Youth* "was only the name of a small book, published and sold in Boston in 1708, a rare copy with the name of the owner, Judith Sewall, scrawled on the flyleaf" (p. 152). Evidently a unique, limited, signed copy. "His [Watts'] *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* was published in 1715" (*sic*, p. 155). The correct date is 1720. "It is hardly worth more than a mention that one John Marchmont, Gent. an Englishman, published *Puerilia* (1751)" (p. 157). The Gent. an Englishman's correct name was John Marchant (*fl.* 1746-51). On pp. 162-163, "*The Peacock at Home* [*sic*] (1807), by a Mrs. Dorset," should read *The Peacock "At Home,"* by Catherine Ann (Turner) Dorset (1750?-1817?). "Babies appear unheralded . . . with a disconnecting [*sic*] suddenness" (p. 172). They do indeed. Christabel Coleridge is Christobel[2] on p. 173 and Christable[2] on p. 177. The BBC is a Company,[2] not a Corporation, on p. 186. Jane Andrews, "to balance matters evenly . . . wrote also *Ten Boys on the Way from Long Ago to Now* (1885) [*sic*]" (p. 190). She wrote *Ten Boys Who Lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now*. Dates for Johanna Spyri (1827-1901) are omitted (p. 191).

Juliana Horatia Ewing ("Aunt Judy") emerges from the *History* in a rather battered condition, as though she were a puppet in a Punch and Judy show. Her "Kerguelen's Land" becomes "Karguelen's [*sic*] Land" on p. 182. Her publisher is given as S.P.C.K. on p. 183, and as "B.[*sic*] P.C.K." on p. 184. (The reference is to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, but you'll never learn it from the *History*.) *Jackanapes* was published in book form in 1883, not 1879, as twice stated on p. 184. (It did appear in *Aunt Judy's Magazine* in 1879.)

"In 1885 [*sic*] appeared the first great school story, *Tom Brown's School Days*" (p. 192). It first appeared in 1857. Hawthorne's *A Wonder-Book for Boys and Girls* appears three times on p. 196 as *The Wonder-Book for Boys and Girls*. "Christopher Pearse Cranch . . . wrote *The Last of the*

Huggermuggers (1885) and its sequel *Koboltozo* [*sic*]" (p. 207); the title, which should be *Kobboltozo*, also appears as Koboltozo (no italics). Even *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) is given a wrong date—1864—on p. 210. It was published in 1865, withdrawn, and published again in 1866. Florence Becker (spelled "Baker"[2] in the "Bibliography" —which has the title wrong) Lennon's *Victoria Through the Looking Glass* is dated 1845 for 1945[2] (p. 214). The book contradicts itself not only on successive pages, but frequently on the same page—or even in the same line, which is quite a feat (cf. Foxe-Fox, p. 45). Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* is dated 1841 (incorrectly) on p. 214,[2] 1846 (correctly) on p. 215; on this same page his *More Nonsense* is dated 1872 in line 10, and 1871[2] (wrongly) in line 19. *The Wide, Wide World* is next to suffer (p. 220). It was published in 1850, not 1861, and its successor, *Queechy*, in 1852, not 1863. "In 1890 [*sic*] Miss [Martha] Finley embarked on another series in which a new character named Mildred was the central figure." *Mildred Keith* was published in 1878. Sophie May named her heroine Dotty Dimple, not Dottie, and her *Quinnebasset Series* ran till 1892, not 1881 (p. 221). *Gates Ajar* (p. 222) was published in 1868, not 1886. "Susan Chauncey Woolsey (1845-1905) ... wrote her first book in 1871, *A New Year's Bargain.* ... But the author's best books and those by which she is remembered are the Katy series, *What Katy Did* (1872), *What Katy Did at School* (1873) ..." (p. 222). The autor was Sarah (not Susan) Chauncey Woolsey; and she was born in 1835 (not 1845); and *The* (not *A*) *New-Year's Bargain* was issued with the date 1872 on the title-page. And *What Katy Did* was first issued with the date 1873 (not 1872); and *What Katy Did At School* was first issued with the date 1874, not 1873. Beyond this the comment is correct.

Believe it or not, the *History* gives an incorrect date for *Little Women* (p. 224). The first volume appeared in 1868, not 1867. For confirmation, see *Invincible Louisa* (Boston, 1933), by Cornelia Meigs, p. 200: "It was in May of the year eighteen sixty-eight that she actually took up the new enterprise," and p. 213, "The first part of 'Little Women' was published in October of the year 1868." (It's still 1867 in the second printing.) "Though Bronson Alcott was never successful from a wordly [*sic*][2] point of view" (p. 226); nay, he was nothing else but. "The curtain falls forever on the Marsh [*sic*][2] family" (p. 230). They are one with Nineveh, Tyre, and the March family.

Mayne Reid died at the age of five! His dates are given as 1818 to 1823[2] instead of 1883 (p. 234). The writer of this chapter knew not

Bast, or Bubastis, the Egyptian cat-goddess; Henty's familiar title appears as *The Cat of the* [*sic*] *Bubastes*[2] (p. 237 and Index[2]). On the same page occur "seiges"[2] and "Crècy."[2] Even *Treasure Island* is misdated. It came out in 1883, not in 1886 as stated on p. 238.[2] "Alger's first book for boys, *Ragged Dick,* appeared in 1867" (p. 239). His first book for boys was *Frank's Campaign* (1864). "He had already published several poor novels [name two?], but after *Ragged Dick* had found an enthusiastic audience of boys, he wrote for them only, producing over a hundred books in series of eight or ten [*sic*] each. . . ." The series never exceeded six titles apiece, and *Tattered Tom* (1871) was written for girls—at least Tom was a girl. "Flaxman had made pictures for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which, though intended for adults, have pleased children for more than two hundred years" (*sic,* p. 244). This sweeping misstatement could have been avoided by two minutes' checking. John Flaxman (1755-1826) illustrated the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* published in 1793. Two hundred (and one, say) years plus 1793 equals 1994, which is not this year of grace—nor last year. "Richard Harding [*sic*!][2] Dana . . . kept a diary, and in 1840 this was published as *Two Years Before the Mast*" (p. 241). In point of fact, Richard Henry Dana kept a *journal,* which was lost. *Two Years Before the Mast* was reconstructed from letters home and a rudimentary log. To round out the chapter, Wells' *The First Men in the Moon* appears as *The First Man in the Moon*[2] (p. 243).

On page 247, Hablôt Knight Browne appears as Hablot Knight Brown.[2] Sampson Low is Lowe[2] on p. 251. Francis Richard Stockton is Frank "B."[2] Stockton on p. 256. "Palmer Cox (1840-1921 [*sic*]) is seldom mentioned today" (p. 257); but he died in 1924. There were eleven Brownie books, not nine, and the last was *The Brownies and Prince Florimel* (1918), not *The Brownies' Many More Nights* (1913). Though Macmillan was the publisher of Edmund Lester Pearson's *Books in Black or Red,* the book appears in the *History* in the usual illiterate form of *Books in Black and Red.*[2] And Ballantyne was born in 1825, not 1823 (p. 235).

Both *Tom Sawyer* (1876, not 1871), and *Huckleberry* (spelled *Huckelberry* in the Index) *Finn* (1885, not 1884) are misdated! (p. 265). "The background . . . [is a] middle western town" (p. 265). Mark Twain, in his preliminary explanatory note, places the scene in the southwest. On p. 267 Charles Coffin's *The Boys of '61* appears as *Boys at* [*sic*] *'61.* Oliver Optic's magazine *Student and Schoolmate* is mistitled *Student and Schoolmaster* on p. 276. "Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *The Story of a Bad Boy* appeared in *Our Young Folks* in 1868 [*sic*]" (p. 277). It ran from Janu-

ary to December, 1869. "Charles Dickens' 'The Magic Fishbone,' ... was published in England in *All the Year Round* as the first part of *A Holiday Romance*" (p. 277)—but on p. 208 the *History* states (correctly) that it was Part II. "*St. Nicholas* came to an end in 1939 [*sic*], a casualty of World War I and the following depression" (p. 283). It came to an end in February, 1940, nearly 22 years after the end of World War I. "Longfellow saw his first poem published in *The Youth's Companion*" (p. 285). The first issue of the *Companion* was dated April 16, 1827; *Miscellaneous Poems Selected From the United States Literary Gazette,* a book issued not later than February 18, 1826, contained fourteen poems by Longfellow. Lawrance Thompson's *Young Longfellow (1807-1843)* (N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1938) calls "The Battle of Lovell's Pond" (*Portland Gazette,* Nov. 17, 1820) Longfellow's first printed poem. *The Youth's Companion* is not even listed in the index of this book. Frank Luther Mott, another Macmillan author, is Luther Frank Mott[2] on p. 285. Mrs. Follen's *Little Songs* were published in Boston in 1833; the date given in the *History* is 1856 (p. 287). The prefatory note by the author in the 1856 edition clearly indicates earlier printings.

"The Laureate of the Nursery," William Brighty Rands, is (of course) misspelled in the *History* (Brightly[2] [*sic*], p. 289). And his *Lilliput Levee* was published in 1864, not 1867. (The editors seem to be unaware of the existence of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.*[2a]) Lucy Larcom was born in 1824, not 1826; Celia Thaxter in 1835, not 1836 (p. 290). "We may be sure that Victorian boys ... loved not only Macauley's [*sic*] *Lays of Ancient Rome,*" but not Macaulay's omniscient schoolboy, who could spell (p. 292). "The result was [Stevenson's] *A Child's Garden of Verses* published originally in 1885 [*sic*] as *Penny Whistles*" (p. 293). *Penny Whistles* was privately printed, not published, in 1883. On p. 292 we meet "Shelly" and Ben "Johnson."

On page 299, Miss Elizabeth Nesbitt takes over. Miss Nesbitt slips from time to time; however, she writes charmingly, and with some regard for accuracy. (She gives *Treasure Island* its rightful date.) It is unfortunate, however, that she stated (pp. 380-381) that "The three books [by E. Nesbit] concerning the Bastables were first published as serials in the *Strand Magazine,*"[3] since not one of them was. E. Nesbit's stories of

[2a] New York, The Macmillan Company, 1941. 4 volumes.

[3] The second printing of the *History* has changed this to "in English magazines." This was one of a list of nearly fifty errors submitted to the publishers by the reviewer, in a letter dated August 2, 1953. Most of the corrections were made, though the letter was never acknowledged.

magic appeared in the *Strand*, but the Bastable stories were printed in the *Pall Mall Magazine*, *London Magazine*, and *Windsor Magazine*. Mrs. Burnett's *The Secret Garden* was published neither in 1909 (p. 381) nor 1910 (p. 264), but in the summer of 1911. Kate Douglas Wiggin was born in 1856, not 1836[2] (p. 379). "The first book of fiction written specifically for children was realistic" (p. 377). What was this book; when was it published? And why not include the only full-length biography of Andrew Lang (by Roger Lancelyn Green) in the Bibliography on p. 326? Here are Wanda Gàg (*sic*, p. 345); "Elayton" Hamilton (p. 356).[2] Graham Robertson is Grahame on pp. 359, 363, and 364.[2] In the second printing Ernest Shepard is still "Shepherd" in line 25, p. 364. On p. 373 Marbåcka is spelled "Marliåcka."[2] "The little Princess[2] in the Tower" (p. 393)—who *was* she? John Foxe is again Fox on p. 395. "This possibility is made actual in Albert Bigelow Paine's (1861-1927 [*sic*]) *Boys' Life of Mark Twain* and *Girl in White Armor; the True Story of Joan of Arc* (1927)" (p. 396). Paine died in 1937; the *Boys' Life of Mark Twain* was published in 1916. On p. 398 the luckless Richard Henry Dana shows up once more, this time as "Charles" Dana. (And there is an awful "hobglobin" [*sic*] on p. 301.)

The last section, by Ruth Hill Viguers, is more a roll-call of recent children's books than a critical history. It, too, suffers from bad proofreading. Seumas MacManus is Seumus on p. 432; A. G. Villiers, Villier,[2] p. 434; the editor herself, p. 441, is Meig;[2] Blaise Cendrars is Cendrar,[2] p. 450. On the other hand, E. Nesbit is twice spelled Nesbitt[2] on p. 480 (perhaps as a bow to Miss Nesbitt); Paul Fenimore Cooper is Fennimore[2] on p. 476; Louise Hall Tharp is Tharpe[2] on p. 446; Lucile Morison is Lucille on p. 489. Merriam Sherwood (p. 462) is Mirriam[2] [*sic*] in the next paragraph. Examples of the book's "beautiful writing": "Her marriage to [the] dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in Cincinnati showed her other ways of giving" (p. 487); "When her beautiful Lasa terrier was stolen, Momo set off to search for him [with] dogged determination" (p. 532). Lewis and Clark are "Lewis and Clarke [*sic*]" on p. 513 (also on p. 242. The Index omits both of them). On p. 514, and in the Index, MacKinlay Kantor is spelled the easy way: MacKinley. Akely (p. 519) should be Akeley; Paul S. Johst is referred to as "J." S. Johst (p. 521); Cape Ann is Cape Anne [*sic*] on p. 549; the late Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings is "Kinnon" on p. 559; Fanny Burney is Fannie (p. 566); Johann Gutenberg, Johan (p. 568, where Elliott Arnold appears for the third time—see Index—as Eliott). The Benéts sometimes

appear with accents, more often not. Reference is made (p. 595) to A. A. Milne's "The Doormouse [*sic*] and the Doctor." A doormouse, whatever it is, is perhaps not as wide as a church door, but it would be hard to squeeze into a teapot. The "Bibliography for Part Four" for a change is not skimped, running from p. 600 to p. 603. The Index repeats the misspellings of the text (adding some of its own, as Suqimoto [*sic*] for Sugimoto) and omits the whole section on Kipling, Kirk Munroe (p. 284), Daniel Lothrop and his *Wide Awake* (pp. 277-278); and Arthur Rackham (p. 364). It alphabets Fielding before Field, Frost before French, and calls Alice Jordan "Jordon."

And, speaking of omissions, why this cold disregard of L. Frank Baum, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), and all the Oz Books ("the first distinctive attempt to construct a fairyland out of American materials," as Edward Wagenknecht has called them)? Or is he beneath criticism?

Perhaps not, since there are other omissions. Readers will find none of these: T. S. Arthur, one of the first, and longest-lived, of all American authors of juvenile books; Julia A. Fletcher Carney, author of *Little Things,* the nursery classic that begins "Little drops of water, Little grains of sand"; Edward S. Ellis, who, under various pseudonyms and under his own name, made up the Big Four of popular American authors, with Horatio Alger, Jr., William T. Adams, and "Harry Castlemon"; Heinrich Hoffmann, author of *Slovenly Peter,* one of the most widely circulated and read juveniles of the nineteenth century, from 1849 to the

translation by Mark Twain published in 1935; Sarah Catherine Martin, author of *Old Mother Hubbard,* frequently, and erroneously, credited to Mother Goose; L. M. Montgomery and *Anne of Green Gables;* Peter Newell; Marshall Saunders and *Beautiful Joe;* Anna Sewell and *Black Beauty;* Booth Tarkington and *Penrod.*

"In addition to the literary history, this survey with its dates, bibliographies, and index—all brought down to 1950[4]—is invaluable as a reference book," according to the entry in the latest Macmillan catalogue. Perhaps this composite review has shown that, as a reference book, libraries should regard *A Critical History of Children's Literature*—both first and second printings—with wariness.

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DEKKER, THOMAS. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker.* Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume I. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953. xviii, + 469 pp. 5½ x 8¾ inches. $7.00.

The present volume, which is the first of a probable four, presents for the first time in a bibliographically scientific, critical, old-spelling text those plays of Thomas Dekker which are included in the commonly accepted canon of his works listed in Sir Edmund K. Chambers' *The Elizabethan Stage,* III, pp. 289-305. The final volume will include, as doubtful works, several other plays for which sufficient internal or external evidence exists to justify their inclusion in a definitive edition. The editorial principles which animate this work are those laid down by the most distinguished bibliographical students of our time, the late Ronald B. McKerrow, Sir Walter Greg, and one may now add, Professor Bowers himself.[1]

No body of Elizabethan plays presents a happier hunting ground for

[4] Four books in Mrs. Viguers' bibliography have dates later than 1950. After this review was in type, several other errors were noted. Another list of errata will appear in the Third Quarter PAPERS.

[1] Particularly in McKerrow's *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, 1927), and *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1939); in Greg's *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1942), and "The Rationale of Copy-Text," in the University of Virginia *Studies in Bibliography,* III (1950), pp. 19-36; and in Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949), and "Current Theories of Copy-Text, with an Illustration from Dryden," *Modern Philology,* XLVIII (1950), pp. 12-20.

the bibliographical student than do the plays of Thomas Dekker. There was many a slip between what the author actually wrote and what eventually appeared in a printed text. The early quartos reveal all of the charming inconsistencies which resulted from the vagaries of the Elizabethan printing house; some were apparently set up from the author's papers, fair or foul, some from playhouse prompt-books; some were the work of more than one compositor; some were corrected as they went through the press; some were pirated; some were unentered in the Stationers' Register. But the opportunity for a bibliographer's field day and for the exercise of bibliographical industry and ingenuity in solving problems alone would hardly justify an enthusiast in issuing a new edition of Dekker's plays. If not a first-rate playwright, Dekker was nevertheless an important second-rater, and one of the most attractive writers for the stage. His love of London and its colorful human types, the realism of his scenes, his Dickensian humor, and his tender, understanding heart have given him an unrivaled appeal. A good modern edition has been long overdue.

Of Thomas Dekker the man almost nothing is known. His birth and death dates (*c.* 1572-*c.* 1632) are conjectural; his parentage, his education, and his private life are untraceable before 1598 when he first emerges —in Henslowe's *Diary*, or account-book—as a writer for the Lord Admiral's company, then playing at the Rose on the Bankside. Between 1598 and 1604 Dekker wrote busily for the Admiral's, Worcester's, or the Prince's Men, usually in collaboration with Henry Chettle, Michael Drayton, Richard Hathway, William Haughton, John Day, Ben Jonson, Thomas Heywood, Robert Wilson, Thomas Middleton, Anthony Munday, John Webster, John Ford, "and other Jentellmen." He quarreled with Ben Jonson, who called him a rogue and portrayed him as Demetrius Fannius, a "dresser of plaies about the town here" in *Poetaster* (1601). But Dekker in turn took his revenge by "untrussing the humorous poet" as Horace in *Satiromastix* (1601). In 1604 he was lovingly sharing with Jonson the responsibility of contriving devices for James I's entry into London at the time of his coronation. About the same time he turned pamphleteer, without, however, wholly deserting the stage. Always impecunious, in 1613 Dekker was arrested for debt and lay in the King's Bench until 1619. After 1632 he disappeared.

In view of Dekker's attractiveness it may be a matter of surprise that no modern edition of the playwright has ever before been attempted, and that Pearson's reprint in four volumes, which is both hard to obtain and

inaccurate, appeared as long ago as 1873. The only readily obtainable texts since 1873 have been the five-play selection in the Mermaid Series (1887), and the representative works included in anthologies. As a result, such plays as *The Shoemakers' Holiday,* which is his masterpiece, *The Honest Whore,* and *Old Fortunatus,* while admittedly excellent, have received more than their just share of attention, and highly readable works of second rank, like *Patient Grissil* (written with Chettle and Haughton) or *The Roaring Girl* (with Middleton) are almost forgotten. It is to be hoped that Professor Bowers' new edition will serve as a corrective to this state of affairs. No other Elizabethan playwright, except Thomas Heywood, has been similarly neglected, and for the same reasons.

In the Epistle to *The English Traveller* (1633) Heywood owned to having "had either an entire hand, or at least a maine finger" in some two hundred and twenty plays, many of them loosely written in taverns on odd sheets of paper. To explain why his plays were "not exposed unto the world in Volumnes, to beare the title of Workes"—as Ben Jonson's were—Heywood adds, "one reason is, That many of them by shifting and change of Companies, haue beene negligently lost, Others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors, who thinke it against their peculiar profit to haue them come in Print, and a third, That it neuer was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind Voluminously read." Dekker may have felt the same way. Much of his work was also done in collaboration, probably in considerable haste and with the wolf at the door. More modestly than in the case of Heywood, only forty-odd productions are in some way linked with Dekker's name; many of his plays are known only by title, and questions of authorship of extant works are most complex. Only a scrap of manuscript exists, and copies of the early editions are widely separated in both private and public collections. Problems of collation are thus made very difficult.

The text which Professor Bowers evolves from the early quarto editions of Dekker's plays is as bibliographically antiseptic as he can make it. No attention is given to glossarial or explanatory notes; more fundamentally Professor Bowers is concerned solely with establishing or reconstructing as definitively as possible what it was that the author wrote. Only when that is known can elucidation and interpretation begin. In a general textual introduction Professor Bowers sets forth his principles and his editorial methods. For each play he has selected a copy-text—in all cases the first edition, for this alone was set from manuscript—retaining the "accidentals," i.e., the general texture of spelling, punctuation,

and capitalization of the first edition. Collation of the early editions has been undertaken on two levels: (a) for "substantive" or authoritative editions a letter-by-letter, point-by-point comparison with a control text of multiple copies of the copy-text, as, with the aid of Greg's *Bibliography of English Printed Drama* and the Bishop *Checklist* these were to be found in the great libraries of Great Britain and the United States; and (b) for unauthoritative or "derived" editions, a selection of one or two copies each as a check. Thus, press-variants are identified, and doubtful readings in authoritative editions noted and when possible resolved. The press-variants themselves, Professor Bowers believes, indicate that Dekker himself almost certainly saw none of his plays through the press. There are, however, a few doubtful cases. Hence, when there is little to choose between variants, the readings of uncorrected formes have been retained, except when the corrected forme alters evident misprints or repairs obvious lapses. In the same way finicky emendation has been avoided, and substantive alterations made only with due regard to bibliographical and palaeographical probabilities. Then all facts are recorded in the footnotes; no substantive alteration has been made silently. The old spelling accidentals are those of the copy-text, even when eccentric, and the original punctuation has been altered as little as possible. Purely typographical matters—like the long *s*, roman or italic type in a black-letter context, display capitals, ornamental initials, and the like—are normalized. Missing act- or scene-headings are supplied in square brackets, as are missing words in stage directions. Abbreviated names and titles are expanded, as are the tilde for the nasal, and such forms as "y^{r}" for *your* and "y^{e}" for *the*. Line numbers for the text, but not for the act- and scene-headings or the stage directions, have been added, the scene being taken as the unit.

The textual apparatus for each play consists of (1) a brief textual introduction, sometimes several pages in length, describing the peculiar problems of each play, the sources of the text, the copies collated, and the general results of such collation; (2) footnotes to the text, consisting of significant variants and emendations, with an asterisk referring the reader to notes at the end of the play for explanation; (3) explanatory notes in defense of the more important emendations or examples of refusals to emend; (4) details of the press-variant forms in authoritative editions; (5) a list of readings in the accidentals altered from the copy-text, except those silently normalized; (6) an historical collation of the substantive and semisubstantive variants in editions other than the copy-text before 1700. Regrettably—"to avoid constantly distracting the reader by

inviting his attention to material not directly concerned with editorial treatment of the wording, or substantives, of the copy-text"—items (3) to (6) are placed in separate categories at the end of each play. At least (3) might have been included in the footnotes where the information is relevant. Serious students, in search of learning or the satisfaction of their curiosity will be both annoyed and distracted by having to turn to the end of the play; others can be trusted to ignore the notes anyway. It all depends upon what readers of your book you are willing to disoblige.

Plays or fragments included in this first volume are the thirty-odd lines in *Sir Thomas More* thought to be in Dekker's own hand; *The Shoemakers' Holiday, Old Fortunatus, Patient Grissil, Satiromastix,* and *Sir Thomas Wyatt.*

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Broughton, Leslie Nathan, Clark Sutherland Northup, and Robert Pearsall. *Robert Browning: A Bibliography, 1830-1950.* Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1953. xiv, 446 pp. 9½ x 6¼ inches. $7.75.

This full bibliography of Robert Browning has been long awaited. Every one of its predecessors had serious shortcomings of one kind or another. Thomas J. Wise's lists (1897, 1929) were—well, Wise's. Aurelia Brooks' big catalogue (1921) was limited to the holdings of the Armstrong collection at Baylor, inclusive though that collection was even at that date. Tamotsu Sone's (1931), appended to a Japanese edition of Griffin and Minchin's biography, has been known to few western scholars and available to even fewer. Now we have, in a single volume, a bibliography of Browning's own writings (with detailed collations and other bibliographical information in the case of first editions); an extensive calendar, the first yet made, of Browning's letters, printed and unprinted; a representative gathering of verse criticisms, parodies, and musical settings of the poems; and a 4,500-entry list of "biography and criticism."

The Browning student's gratitude that such a book now exists must, however, be tempered with regret that the heart of the book, the section on biography and criticism, is so hard to use. To a degree its defects were inherent in its subject. Browning is a bibliographer's nightmare, not only because of the sheer bulk of commentary to be recorded but, even more, because of the intolerable disproportion of sentimental trivia for which

Browning study has been notorious. If he is to be reasonably comprehensive, the bibliographer is forced to include literally thousands of items which he knows are of no interest to anyone but the very occasional historian of Browning's reputation or of the vagaries of popular taste. This problem of reconciling thoroughness with practical usefulness would have been formidable under the best of conditions, but it was further complicated by the history of the project. The senior collaborators, the late Professors Broughton and Northup, began collecting Browning references many years ago, with the chief aim of documenting "the impact made by Browning upon the world." When, in 1949, Dr. Pearsall accepted the task of preparing the manuscript for publication, he wisely sought to recast it in a form in which it would have wider value—that is, as a scholarly reference guide. Although the measure of his labor is evident on every page (by combining and excluding he reduced by a third the 40,000 entries he inherited, and in addition rechecked the whole manuscript and modified its organization), complete success was not to be hoped for.

The biography-and-criticism section is chronologically arranged, thus enabling one to follow the "temperature chart" of the poet's reputation. But such an arrangement renders the section dismayingly hard to use for all other purposes. To be sure, by referring to the volume's general index one can find all the articles that deal specifically with a given poem or with Browning's relations with Tennyson or Carlyle, or that compare his poetry with Whitman's or Donne's. The index, however, is limited to titles and proper names; there are no lower-case subject entries. Therefore a researcher trying to build a working bibliography concerning Browning and music, or Browning's mysticism, or his use of the dramatic monologue, has no choice but to read through the whole long double-columned section, entry by entry—all the while execrating the forces that have bloated Browning bibliography with so many thousands of vapid effusions and exegetical minutiae.

If it was impractical to attempt some sort of subject classification, such as one finds in reference guides to other major English poets, at least the task of the student could have been lightened—even at the risk of arbitrariness—by dividing the biographical-anecdotal and the critical-appreciative materials into separate sequences. Nor would the value of the compilation have been diminished by discarding hundreds of entries concerning books in which Browning is merely mentioned in passing—for example, modern biographies of other Victorians whose authors obviously derived their Browning references from standard sources. Registers of

allusions have their place, but not in general bibliographies for research use. The presence of so much dross is all the more irritating when it occupies space that might better have been allotted to the numerous dissertations that have been written on Browning. Only printed dissertations are listed here; unpublished ones are not mentioned; and even references to printed abstracts are omitted.

With this one exception, no important class of relevant material has been overlooked. Hence, despite its imperfections, this bibliography will greatly facilitate the spread of serious scholarly interest in one of the most fascinating and (notwithstanding the immense amount of commentary already produced) one of the least understood of the great English poets.

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Ascarelli, Fernanda. *La tipografia cinquecentina italiana.* Firenze, Sansoni, 1953. 259 pp. 9½ x 6½ inches. L. 11,550.

This work is the first attempt since Fumagalli's *Lexicon typographicum Italiae* to provide a systematic dictionary of printers for sixteenth-century Italy. Such a work is badly needed: Italian printing is admirably recorded bibliographically up to 1520, but after that date anyone seeking information about an individual printer has hitherto had to refer to single specialized reference works, most of which are far from easy of access.

The compilation is intended to cover all printers active in Italy up to and including 1600. Publishers are excluded; a decision leading to many anomalies, as it is frequently difficult to decide whether a given person is a printer or a publisher, and indeed the same person frequently both printed himself and published works printed by others.

The work is entirely derivative and is simply a conflation of many bibliographies of printing in the various towns of the peninsula. Indeed, it is invaluable as a repertory of sources of specialist information on sixteenth-century Italian printing: the "indice delle fonti bibliografiche" lists about 250 names of authors of monographs and periodical articles referred to. The student of Venetian printing will therefore look in vain for such printers "not in Pastorello"[1] as Francesco Fasani, Nicolo Nelli, Giulio Tamborino, and Stefano Zazzara; but this book will warn him that (for example) Vincenzo Luchino, who printed two books in Venice in 1564,

[1] E. Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI.* (Firenze, 1924.)

had a press at Rome from 1552 to 1566. On the other hand, in her Venetian section Dr. Ascarelli repeats Pastorello's statement that Giovanni de Rossi printed at Venice in 1557-1558 and in 1567, without recording the statement of Sorbelli (the main authority for the Bolognese presses) that he went to Bologna in 1558/9 and never returned; nor does the index warn the reader that the Giovanni de Rossi listed under Venice is the same as the Giovanni Rossi entered under Bologna.[2]

Inevitably, the Venetian section is primarily based on Pastorello's work, as is particularly shown by the dates of activity and the precise numbers of printings attributed to each printer: it is therefore disappointing to find printers whom Pastorello records omitted from the present work; examples are Candido and Stefano Bindoni. Most of the names given by Pastorello and excluded by Dr. Ascarelli are, however, those of publishers, such as Giovanni Antonio degli Antonii, Pietro Facolo, and the puzzling Giovanni Mario Lirico Veneziano, who are outside the scope of the present work. Lirico is recorded in Pastorello's Venetian bibliography as having had a book printed for him in 1538; but he was certainly in Bologna in 1529, his imprint is without place in 1532, and the fact that in his 1538 imprint he is specified as Veneziano suggests that he was not in Venice at that date either.

The work is illustrated by over 150 good reproductions of printers' devices. This is a useful, as well as a decorative, feature. One should, however, point out that, while figs. 114 and 115 are both described as "Marca tipografica di Francesco Marcolini, Venezia, 1552," only the former is Marcolini's device, the latter being perhaps an author's emblem; and similarly that, while figs. 135 and 136 are both described as "Marca tipografica al Segno del Pozzo, Venezia, 1551," only the former is really a printer's device. These blemishes are inevitable in a work which is entirely based on other bibliographical sources: Dr. Ascarelli would certainly not have regarded both figs. 135 and 136 as marks of the "Segno del Pozzo" had she known that they both occurred in the same book (on the last and first leaves respectively of P. Chaggio's *Flamminia prudente*). Independent investigation, too, might not have led her to accept without qualification the attribution to Giovanni Mazzocchi di Bondeno of the device of a knight in armor, mounted on a bull and brandishing a sword, inscribed Z M B B (fig. 105); and would have shown that the dolphin

[2] A. Sorbelli, *Storia della Stampa in Bologna* (1929), pp. 106-107, discusses de Rossi's solitary Venice imprint of 1567, but denies that de Rossi was himself printing in Venice at the time.

device (fig. 106), here assigned to "Giovanni Antonio e fratelli da Sabbio, Venezia, 1522," regularly appears in the works printed by them for Nicolò Garanta and Francesco da Salò, whose address was "al Delfino."

The press "Al segno del Pozzo" comes in for curious treatment. Pastorello, who is Dr. Ascarelli's primary source for Venetian printers, has a long entry, showing that "Arrivabene Andrea Veneziano al segno del Pozzo" published 82 works, printed by various printers, in a career lasting from 1536 to 1570. Arrivabene has no entry in the present work, presumably on the ground that he was not a printer: yet "al segno del Pozzo" is listed as active in 1551, complete with the two "marche tipografiche" already discussed.

The book is arranged geographically by regions, within which the cities are arranged alphabetically. Within each city the printers are arranged in the chronological order of the establishment of their presses, with the exception that, within the cities, families are kept together. The work is easy to use, however, as it has fairly accurate indexes of printers, places, facsimiles of devices, bibliographical sources, and "altre cose notevoli."

In an interesting introduction, Dr. Ascarelli points out that, although Italian printing of the fifteenth century is exhaustively described by the various incunable catalogues and the period 1501-1520 is covered by Isaac's continuation of Proctor, there is as yet no systematic coverage of the whole of Italian printing for the ensuing period, although there are bibliographies of specific places, printers, and classes of books, and it is understood that a short-title catalogue of the British Museum's Italian books printed before 1600 is about to appear. She therefore advocates the compilation of two general union catalogues of Italian libraries for the later period: one, covering the period 1501-1515, would have detailed descriptions modelled on those in the *Gesamtkatalog;* and the other, covering the years 1516-1565, would consist of shorter entries coöperatively compiled, rather like *S.T.C.*

This present lack of such large general repertories of sixteenth-century Italian printing explains both the importance and the shortcomings of the present work. Without a general dictionary of printers such as this, the bibliographer trying to assign a place and date to a signed work must search through all the sources (not always all to be found in the same library) which Dr. Ascarelli has drawn upon; and even then he may still miss a vital entry, just as she missed Sorbelli's vital remark about de Rossi. But although it is difficult to compile a typographically sound catalogue of early books without a dictionary of printers, it is only on the wide expe-

rience gained, and the vast amount of material amassed, by a personal examination of thousands of relevant books that a really sound dictionary of printers can subsequently be founded. Many unsigned books can be assigned to their printers by examination of their type, devices, woodcuts, or ornaments, and consideration of the results of this will alter our estimate of the output, and our knowledge of the dates of activity, of many printers. Sometimes (as in instances already alluded to) it is only after observation of several occurrences of a device that it can be decided whether it belongs to the printer whose name is on the book, or to the unnamed publisher, or even to the author. The device may even add to our biographical knowledge of its owner: for instance, the Ioannes Antonius Salernitanus, who printed an edition of Altomari's *Opuscula* at Venice in 1570, becomes a much less shadowy figure when it is noticed that the device used in that book also appears in three medical books (two of them by Altomari) printed in the same city between 1558 and 1566 by Marcus de Maria, also a Salernitan, whose last recorded date of activity is 1569.

It is therefore clear that the compilation of a great catalogue of the Italian books of the later sixteenth century would add enormously to our knowledge, not only of the literary history of the period, but also of its printing. A thoroughly detailed index of printers and publishers to such a catalogue, giving their addresses, dates of activity, and mutual relations as publisher and printer, would be an authoritative reference tool of lasting value; and a further byproduct of such an enterprise would be a reliable attribution of printers' and publishers' devices. The present work, being purely a conflation of other sources, cannot claim such authority: but it will be an invaluable tool for those concerned in the compilation of the general catalogue to the need for which Dr. Ascarelli has rightly called attention.

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